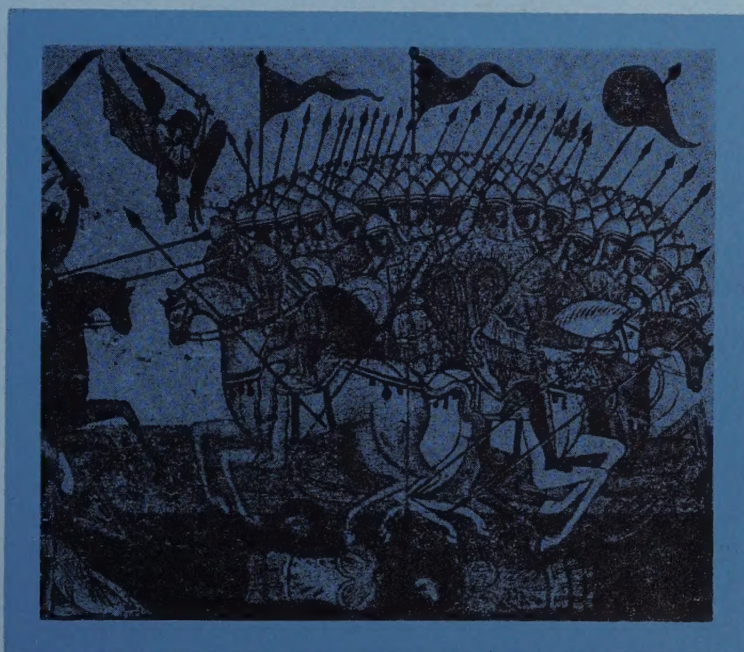


GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

APRIL 1946



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HISTORIC BATTLES ON RUSSIAN ICONS, BY NATHALIE SCHEFFER. ¶
THREE FRENCH RENAISSANCE TAPESTRIES, BY PHYLLIS ACKERMAN. ¶
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*"Be faithful unto death and
I will give thee the crown of life."*

(II, Rev., 10.)

HISTORIC BATTLES ON RUSSIAN ICONS

IN THE XI Century, through sermons¹ and writings,² a new Christian belief spread among the still half-heathen Russians. They were taught that victories over enemies were granted by the grace of God, while plague, famine and wars were signs of His wrath. From that time on chroniclers have concluded descriptions of the events either by the humble recognition of a deserved punishment, or by an expression of gratitude to Christ and the Holy Virgin. The cult of the Mother of God became as popular in Russia as in Byzantium. The Holy Virgin was the intercessor between Christ, Her Son, and mankind and Her orders for assistance and rescue were carried out by saint-warriors such as George,

* Above the title is reproduced a map of XII Century feudal Russia.

1. Sermons of St. Theodosius of Pechersk (died in 1091, canonized in 1108) *O kazniakh Bozhiikh*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," Feb. 1874, pp. 249-250; *Polnoe Sobranie Rus. Lietopisei*, I, 72.

2. *Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha*, in: *Lavrent'evskii Spisok Nesterovskoi Lietopisi* under the year 1096; S. PROTOPOV, *Pouchenie Vl. Monomakha*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," Feb. 1874, pp. 249-250.



FIG. 1. — XVI Century. — "The Prayer of the Men of Novgorod," icon. — Present whereabouts unknown.

Archangels headed by the Holy Virgin and St. John the Baptist. The family observes how their humble words in gestures are repeated to Christ by the Holy Virgin and the Saints.

The Holy Virgin is the nearest of the human race to Her Son, and the people put all their hopes in Her hands. Over two hundred versions known in Russian iconography of the representations of the Mother of God,³ testify to the special worship accorded to Her. Her miraculous icons, restored and repaired, were sent in copies all over the country. Churches were built for their glorification and festivals were established in their honor. Icons of the Virgin were credited with saving

Mercury, Demetrius, Theodore of Tiro, Boris, Gliob and other saints venerated by local traditions. Seeking the intercession of the Holy Virgin, every Russian city placed itself under Her safeguard and under the protection of one of Her icons.

The Russians loved to express in visual images their simple and direct communion with God, as can be seen on an icon of the XVI Century in which the earthly prayer of a family finds an immediate response in the heavenly Deisis (Fig. 1). In the lower part of the icon the artist represents five men, one woman and two children imploring the Lord in a typical attitude of prayer (eyes raised and hands outstretched), while they see in heaven Apostles and

3. *Kostromskiiia Eparkhial'nyiia Viedomosti*, 1890, Nos. 1-24, p. 325.

many Russian cities, as Our Lady of Blachernae saved Constantinople.⁴ On these icons the Holy Virgin is represented in variations of the Greek Hodegetria and the Panagia while their Russian names depend on the place of their "apparition" (*iavlenie*) or of their residence. For example *Our Lady of Kazan'*, in conformity with the legend, "appeared" or, in other words, was "miraculously discovered" in 1549 in the city of Kazan'; *Our Lady Tikhvinskaia*,⁵ especially venerated by Ivan the Terrible, was found in 1383 in the city of Tikhvin; *Our Lady of Vladimir*, brought in 1131 from Constantinople, received Her name in 1155 when the icon was carried from Vyshgorod (near Kiev) to the city of Vladimir by Prince Andrei of Suzdal'.⁶

* * *

The icon of *Our Lady "Znamenie"* (of the Sign) (Fig. 2)⁷ became "miraculous" and was named "of Novgorod" after the battle of 1169 when Andrei, Prince of Suzdal',⁸ sent his big army against Novgorod with which he had quarrelled over



FIG. 2. — XV Century(?). — Our Lady "Znamenie," icon. — Palladium, Novgorod, Russia.

4. N. SCHEFFER, *The "Akathistos" of the Holy Virgin in Russian Art*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Jan. 1946, pp. 5-16.

5. The icon of Our Lady Tikhvinskaia was given by the Russians as a guarantee to the Swedes in 1617 at the signing of the peace treaty; see: SNEGIREV, *O znachenii Otechestvennago Ikonopisaniia*, in: "Zapiski St. Peterburgskago Arkheol. Obschch.," 1849, I, pp. 181-210.

6. This removal from Vyshgorod to Suzdal'-Vladimir coincided with a fact of great importance for the history of Russia. Prince Andrei moved the political center from the South to the North, where the youngest branch of the Russians, the so-called "great Russians" came into power.

7. N. KONDAKOV, *The Russian icon*, Prague, 1931, III, p. 131. The scratch on the icon under the left eye is explained in the legend as the work of the arrow which hit the face of the Virgin during the battle.

8. Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, son of Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, born in 1110, reigned from 1157 to 1174; M. POGODIN, *Kniaz' Andrei Bogoliubskii*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," June 1849, p. 145-185; I. ZABIELIN, *Sliedny Literaturnykh Trudov Andreia Bogoliubskago*, in: "Moskov. Arkheol. Obschch., Arkheolog. Izviestiia i Zapiski," 1895, III, No. 23, p. 37-49.

the region of Dvinsk.⁹ This fratricidal war of the feudal epoch¹⁰ inspired an anonymous artist of the XVI Century to illustrate the commiseration of the Holy Virgin and Her divine will.



FIG. 3. — XVI Century. — Battle of Suzdal' and Novgorod, icon. — Diocesan Museum, Novgorod, Russia.

The icon depicting the *Battle of Novgorod and Suzdal'* (Fig. 3) is divided into three zones and reproduces exactly both the historical events described by the Chronicles and the legend of the miraculous rescue of the city. In the right corner of the upper zone Ilia, the bishop of Novgorod,¹¹ being informed of the approach of the hostile army, brings forth from the church of the "Spas"¹² the highly venerated icon *Our Lady of the Sign* (*Znamenie*). Accompanied by the clergy and by Iakub, mayor of the city, he carries the icon across the Volkov bridge to the other part of Novgorod, where the enemy is concentrated. In crossing the bridge another procession meets him. People kneel bareheaded and pray before the cross and the icon of the Holy Virgin. Be-

9. M. PRISEKOV, *Ocherki po Tserkovno-Politicheskoi Istorii Kievskoi Rusi*, in: "Universitetskii Zapiski," St. Petersburg, 1913, No. 116, p. 403.

10. The worst feudal struggles in Russia took place in the period comprised between 1054 and 1240; see: M. POGODIN, *Vremennik, Obshch. Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh*, Moscow, 1849, p. 27-76.

11. Ilia, bishop of Novgorod and Pskov, elected in 1163, changed his name from Ilia to John, taking the monastic vows shortly before his death, canonized in the XV Century; see: E. GOLUBINSKII, *History of the Russian Church*, Moscow, 1904, I, pp. 406-7; V. KLIUCHEVSKII, *Drevne-Russkiiia Zhitiia Sviatykh*, pp. 127-164.

12. The icon of *Our Lady of the Sign* ("Znamenie") was at that time in the church of Spaso Preobrazhenie and was transferred in 1355 to the newly constructed cathedral. The church of Spaso-Preobrazhenie is mentioned in the Chronicle of Novgorod under the year 1169.

hind them and behind the walls of the Kremlin glitter the six cupolas of St. Sophia.¹³

In the second zone one sees the icon of the Virgin installed above the city walls and under its protection are assembled the besieged. Over their heads hover banners identical in shape and color with the banners flying over the bristling spears of the enemy. The clothing, armament and helmets of both armies are alike, as are all the details of the emissaries of the hostile parties. By this stunning likeness the artist drove home the point that this war is of Russians against Russians and not against a foreign enemy.

In the center three emissaries from each side meet for a parley (Fig. 4). Their talk is understandable without words: the men of Novgorod with their palms



FIG. 4. — XVI Century. — Battle of Suzdal' and Novgorod, icon. — Diocesan Museum, Novgorod, Russia (Detail, see Fig. 3).

open, persuade and explain, while the envoy of Suzdal' raises a finger in menace and blame.¹⁴

The parley is unsuccessful. The trumpets of the enemy sound the call to battle. Arrows fall like rain at the image of the Holy Virgin. "The arrow hit the

13. St. Sophia of Novgorod with five cupolas was built in 1045 by Prince Vladimir; the sixth one was added later.

14. A. ANISIMOV, *Etiudy Novgorodskoi Ikonopisi*, in "SOFIA," No. 5, Moscow, 1914, pp. 5-21.

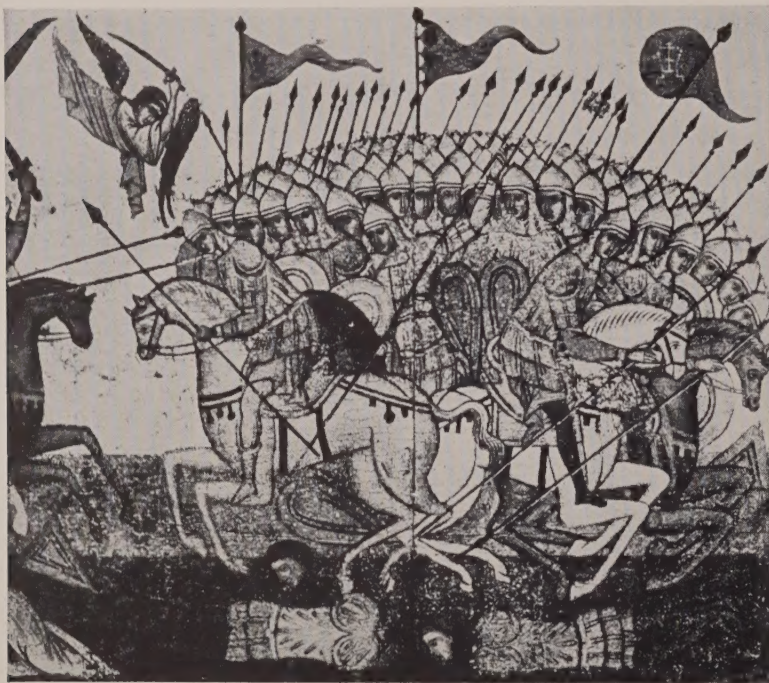


FIG. 5. — XVI Century. — Battle of Suzdal' and Novgorod, icon. — Diocesan Museum, Novgorod (Detail, See Fig. 3).

face of the Holy Virgin,¹⁵ and She turned away from them" says the legend, "and darkness blinded the men of Suzdal'."¹⁶ This sacrilege of the enemy although orthodox and Russian, is emphasized by the artist to justify the punishment which struck the assailants. Instead of the legendary darkness, the painter represents the decisive moment of victory under the leadership of the saint warriors taking an active part in the battle



FIG. 6. — XVI Century. — Battle of Suzdal' and Novgorod, icon. — Diocesan Museum, Novgorod (Detail, see Fig. 3).

15. N. KONDAKOV, *Ikonografia Bozh. Materi*, St. Petersburg, 1914, II, p. 116.

16. The Fourth Novgorod Chronicle.

by order of the Holy Virgin.

In the lower zone of the icon (Fig. 6), St. Glieb,¹⁷ Prince of Murom brandishing his sword, gallops from the open gates of the city. Ahead of him a flying angel is already engaged in the battle.

The front lines of the enemy facing Novgorod still hold, but the rear is in confusion. Heads down, with lowered lances, they turn in flight (Fig. 5).

Between St. Glieb and his brother St. Boris,¹⁸ on a white horse, rides St. George, himself a warrior in life who never knew defeat. A belief exists that St. Boris and St. Glieb, first Russian martyrs, frequently helped people who appealed to God for assistance. They were seen at the head of Prince Iaroslav's army and in the battle of Alexander with the Tartars; they helped Dimitri in the bloody fight with Mamai and Alexander Nevskii against the Swedes.¹⁹

But who is the fourth of the saint-warriors holding his lance pointed toward the enemy?²⁰ His clothing is not that of a Russian prince and the armament not of a Roman warrior. His helmet is a Russian helmet and he is dressed like a regular Russian soldier; his face strikingly resembles the soldiers of the group behind him. He differs from them only by the halo surrounding his head and by a mantle



FIG. 7. — XII Century. — Our Lady of Vladimir, icon. — Moscow Collection.

17. Glieb, Prince of Murom, son of Prince Vladimir, baptized David; killed in 1014.

18. Boris, Prince of Rostov, son of Prince Vladimir baptized Roman; killed in 1014; D. SHCHEGLOV, *Pervyia Stranitsy Russkoi Istorii*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," 1849, p. 64, II, p. 168.

19. KHRUSHCHEV, *O Drevne-Russkikh Istoricheskikh Skazaniakh*, in: "Universitetskiia Zapiski," Kiev, July 1877, p. 508; I. SREZNEVSKII, *Skazanie o Borisie i Gliebie*, in: "Obshch. Liubitelei Drevnei Pis'mennosti," 1860, No. 124, p. 63.

20. PROFESSOR A. ANISIMOV, in his article on the described icon, in mentioning the fourth warrior, calls him "the unknown."

thrown over his shoulder. Could he not be Ilia Muromets, the legendary hero of Russian folklore, the favorite Russian valiant knight of humble peasant origin?

Ilia Muromets was never canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church, but for the people he was a saint and a miracle-maker. According to the legend, his fabulous strength came from Christ himself and from two Apostles who gave him a drink of water. Ilia Muromets, after having accomplished his heroic deeds, was taken to heaven, and from that time on he chases the Devil in the sky.²¹ In folklore he is accepted as a saint of the Kiev-Pecherskaia Lavra because "he spent the money from a treasure he found for the building of churches in Kiev."²² The worship of his legendary memory went so far, that his relics are mentioned among others enclosed in a cross of a church in Kursk.²³

In 1594 Erich Lassota saw in St. Sophia in Kiev the tomb of Ilia Muromets



FIG. 8. — XVII Century. — Battle of Kazan', icon, — Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow.

"the hero about whom," as he says, "many fables are told."²⁴ In 1638 among the names of the saints of Kiev is mentioned "*St. Ilia Muromets*."²⁵ In 1701 Father Leontius Lukianov saw in Kiev, as he writes, "the relics of the brave warrior Ilia Muromets."²⁶ In the Menologium compiled by Bishop Filaret in 1885,²⁷ under December 19, is listed St. Ilia Muromets, who is there described as a warrior with one of his arms wounded by a lance. A chapel in the city of Murom was

21. "Zapiski Akademii Nauk," *Prilozhenie*, No. L., vol. 45, pp. 349-353.

22. V. MILLER, *Ekskurs v Oblast' Russkago Narodnago Eposa*, 1892, p. 16.

23. "Arkheologicheskii S'ezd" XII, Kar'kov, "Trudy," I, 1902, p. 325.

24. "Universitetskaia Izvestiia," Kiev, Oct. 1898, p. 67; *Putevyia Zapiski Erikha Lassota*, translated into Russian by F. BRUN, 1873, p. 19.

25. "Universitetskaia Zapiski," Kiev, Oct. 1898, p. 67.

26. F. BUSLAEV, *Narodnaia Poeziia*, 1887, p. 126; A. LOBODA, *Byliny pro Iliu Muromtsa*, in: "Universitetskaia Zapiski," Kiev, Oct. 1898, p. 7.

27. *Life of Saints recognized by the Orthodox Church*, compiled by Bishop FILARET, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 138.

dedicated to St. Ilia.²⁸ Prince Vladimir of Kiev²⁹ appealed to Ilia Muromets in time of war to "stand for Russia, if not for him, the Prince, then for the widows and orphans." In ancient songs of Chernigov, people ask Ilia Muromets to take



FIG. 9. — XVII Century. — Battle of Kazan', icon. — Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow (Detail, see Fig. 8).

the golden keys of the city, be their leader, and guard them from the vile Tatars."³⁰ On popular prints and modern paintings Ilia Muromets is always de-

28. "Zapiski Akademii Nauk," 1883, No. I, p. 350.

29. Vladimir the Great "equal to the Apostles." The first Russian ruler to embrace Christianity, fifth Russian Prince of Rurik's house. Baptized Vasilii in 989.

30. V. MILLER, *Op. Cit.*, p. 184; S. TIMOFEEV, *Skazaniia*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," Aug. 1885, p. 204.



FIG. 10. — XVII Century. — Battle of Kazan', icon. — Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow (Detail, see Fig. 8).

picted in Russian armor with a helmet on his head. In secular art his strength is expressed by his powerful body; while on icons it is expressed spiritually.

The Chronicler of Novgorod concludes the description of the war of 1169 with the usual words of gratitude: "And we fought the whole day, and we defeated them by the power of the Holy Virgin and by the prayer of our faithful Bishop Ilia."³¹ The power of the Mother of God is expressed on the icon by the rescue of the city through the protection of Her image, and it is not impossible that the artist wanted to illustrate also the fulfilment of Bishop Ilia's prayer granted by his namesake, Ilia Muromets, the Russian legendary hero and saint.

People of Novgorod to this day retain in their hearts the memory of the miraculous rescue of the city. Every year on the first Wednesday of Easter week, the procession represented on the icon is acted out by the people. After the Mass, to the chimes of the church bells, the icon of *Our Lady of the Sign* (*Znamenie*) is carried in the same ceremony across the Volkov bridge. When the procession reaches the city walls, at which seven centuries ago Novgorod won the victory over Suzdal', the priest sprinkles holy water on the ancient fortifications.³²

The patroness of the conquered men of Suzdal' was *Our Lady of Vladimir* (Fig. 7). Prince Andrei of Suzdal' ascribed to Her power, all his former victories

31. "Arkheologicheskii S'ezd" XV, Novgorod, 1911, I, p. 78 (Protocols); *Chronicles of Novgorod*, translated by R. MICHEL AND N. FORBES, London, 1914, pp. 26-27.

32. V. MILLER, *Op. Cit.*

— over the Bulgarians (1164), Kiev (1159), Lutsk, Chernigov and Pereiaslavl'.³³ But the Holy Virgin punishes as well as rewards. A legend says that during a siege of Pskov, the Mother of God appeared to an old monk in the city and expressed indignation over the sins of the people, ordering them to weep and to pray, and promising to pray with them for their forgiveness.³⁴ The men of Suzdal' believed that such retribution could be suffered at the hands of the Vir-



FIG. 11. — XVII Century. — Battle of Kazan', icon. — Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow (Detail, see Fig. 8).

mirskoi, Moscow, 1849; E. GOLUBINSKII, *Istoriia Russkoi Tserkvi*, 1904, II, p. 414; "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," 1884, VI, p. 246.

34. In one church of Pskov existed an icon with the representation of the Holy Virgin amid the assault of the city of 1581; see: *Tserkovnaya Vedomosti, Pribavleniia*, St. Petersburg, 1889, No. 27, pp. 1061-1075.

35. The local Chronicles of Vladimir-Suzdal' began in the XIII Century; see: M. BEREZHKOVA, *O Drevnei Vladimirskoi Lietopisi*, Vladimir, 1909, p. 1.

36. *Lavrentievskaya Lietopis'* pp. 341-343; *Lietopis' I, Suzdal'*, pp. 79-80; I. TIKHONRAVOV, *O Lietopisi Lavrent'evskoi*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," 1884, VI, pp. 246-8.

gin, and inserted in their Chronicle³⁵ a very brief but humble statement of their defeat: "Novgorod fought fiercely and killed many of our men, and this was because of our sins."³⁶

The significance of Suzdal' and of other feudal principalities began to decline from the XIV Century on, giving place to the gradual growth of Moscow and the final formation of the Moscow Tsardom. The icon of *Our Lady of Vladimir*, was transferred from Suzdal' to the new victorious capital. On August 26, 1395 the icon was met at the gates of the city of Moscow by the Grand Duke, his boyars and the clergy, and a festival

33. *Skazaniia o Chudotvornoi Ikone Bozh. Materi Vladimirskoi*, Moscow, 1849; E. GOLUBINSKII, *Istoriia Russkoi Tserkvi*, 1904, II, p. 414; "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," 1884, VI, p. 246.

was established for the commemoration of this day.³⁷ From then on the miraculous icon of *Our Lady of Vladimir* became not only the patroness of the city of Moscow, but the most venerable relic of the whole of Russia.³⁸ The Chronicler attributes to Her help, and not to "the wisdom of man," the deliverance from the assaults of Tamerlan (1395), Akhmat (1480) and Makhmat Girei (1521).

The last stronghold of the Tartars in Russia after their two hundred year domination, was still Kazan', and the city was conquered by Tsar Ivan Vasilievich Groznyi in 1552.

On the icon which depicts this extremely important event for the history of Russia (Fig. 8), the artist represents not the battle itself, but its victorious completion.³⁹ Russia, after the fall of Byzantium, regarded herself as the "Third Rome," the "Holy Russia," the successor and the guardian of the Orthodox faith. Her army was the "Christ-loving" army and her battle cry began with the appeal "for the faith."⁴⁰

In the center of his composition the artist places Constantine,⁴¹ the first Christian Byzantine Emperor who personifies the Orthodox faith; and the painter surrounds him closely with the Russian army, as if to guard him from any kind of aggression (Fig. 3). Emperor Constantine is a symbolic figure on the icon. It is clear that he did not take an active part in the battle: he is clad in a long imperial robe instead of military garb, and has a crown on his head. He holds not a sword, but the cross which appeared to him before his victorious battle of 312.

Prince Vladimir, the baptizer of Russia, Boris and Gliub, the first Russian martyrs, are also symbolic figures representing the Orthodox faith and they come at the end of the procession. It has to be noticed that the warriors in the central group do not have any halos. Evidently they are men who survived the bloody battle and who march back leaving behind them the conquered city of Kazan'. In the farthest upper right hand corner of the icon the city is represented enveloped by flames (Fig. 10). "Far away on a mountain Kazan' was standing," writes the Chronicler, — "and we took Kazan' and we burned it down."⁴² The army is led by a helmeted horseman⁴³ in armor, girded with a sword and hold-

37. *Voskresnoe Chtenie*, 1840-41, No. 4 (21), pp. 183-85.

38. A. ANISIMOV, *Our Lady of Vladimir*, Prague, 1928.

39. In his article about this icon, MURATOV gives a purely symbolic interpretation and calls the composition: "The Militant Church"; see: "Sofia," Moscow, Feb., 1914, pp. 5-17.

40. "For faith, the Tsar and the fatherland."

41. St. Constantine the Great "equal to the Apostles," born in 274. The Orthodox Church venerates him as a saint; in the Latin Church his cult is unknown.

42. *Kazanskaia Lietopis', Solovetskii Spisok*, 1, p. 31; *Polnoe Sobranie Lietopisei*, 1903.

43. M. KARGER, *K Voprosu Izobrazheniia Groznago na Ikone*, in: "Akademiia Nauk, Otd. Russkago Iazyka i Sloves., Sbornik" 1928, CI, No. 3, pp. 466-69; A. PRESNIOKOV, *Epokha Ioanna Groznago*, in: "Annaly Zhurnala Vseobshchei Istorii Rossiiskoi, Akademiia Nauk," 1922, No. 2, p. 197.



FIG. 12. — XVII Century. — Battle of Kazan', icon. — Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (Detail, left side of the icon, see Fig. 8).

ing a lance (Fig. 11). He turns to the army of the central zone calling to follow him. One can find an explanation for the horseman by referring to the Chronicle: "The Tsar himself placed on his head his golden helmet and girded his armour with his sword. As he assembled the noble princes and the boyars and the youth and the strong horsemen, he said to them: 'I want to go with you against Kazan' and to suffer for the faith.' Then he ordered his big steed and, saddling it, flew away like an eagle."⁴⁴

The Russians suffered heavy losses against the Tartars in the conquest of Kazan', and the artist represents the fallen heroes in an endless procession, which like a wreath of glory, surrounds those who remained alive. The armor of the dead warriors is "like waters agitated by the wind, glittering with gold like the dawn of a clear day."⁴⁵ The dead have martyrs' halos; they belong to another

44. *Kazanskaia Lietopis', Solovetskii Spisok*, pp. 1, 109, 115, 151, 154; G. KUNTSEVICH, *Istoriia o Kazanskom Tsarstvie*, in: "Sbornik Russkago Iazyka i Slov., Akademiia Nauk," 1901, 69, No. 2, p. 61; *Khronograf. "Poviest' o Kazanskom Tsarstvie,"* in: "Sbornik v Chest' Sobolebiskago, Akademiia Nauk," 1928, II, no. 3, pp. 190-2.

45. S. TIMOFEEV, *Skazanie*, in: "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," April, 1885, p. 218.

world; therefore they are led not by a terrestrial king, but by the Archangel Michael, riding a winged horse in the circles of the heavenly spheres. Angels fly to meet the heroes with "crowns of life," promised by Holy Writ to those who remain faithful unto death. Christ the Child, in the arms of His Mother, distributes the crowns to the angels. The Holy Virgin sits on the Mount of Zion at the entrance to the church of the same name.⁴⁶ In the background of Zion is the Tabernacle,⁴⁷ the temple of all humanity and the symbol of the unity of the Old and New Testaments (Fig. 12).

In the lower part of the image, ahead of the procession, a black steed rears under his rider and seems to emphasize the supreme moment of the first step onto the path to Paradise. The path, breaking through the heavenly spheres, and bestrewn with fantastic flowers, is the way to heaven, the way of eternal rest, prepared for the warriors sanctified by their deeds.

If one considers the main idea which guided the artist in this composition, it becomes evident that the entire left part of the icon, with hovering angels on the background of the meadows of Paradise and of rivers running from heavenly founts, is the joyful promise of peace in contrast to the sorrow of the city left behind in flames.

"Let those who were killed in Kazan' get the crown of martyrs" are the words of the Chronicler at the end of his story: "their names will always be remembered in churches, but you, who were saved by God and not killed, do accept the greatest praise."



FIG. 13. — *Vasilii Blazhennyi* (Cathedral of the Intercession, Moscow).

This glory and this praise are expressed on the icon. The Russian Orthodox Church still prays at each Mass during the Great Entrance: "May the Lord remember in His kingdom the Christ-loving army, always, now and for ever and unto ages of ages."

Tsar Ivan Vasilievich Groznyi (the Terrible), in gratitude for the conquest of Kazan', built in Moscow a cathedral consecrated to the Intercession of the Holy Virgin, but popularly called "*Vasilii Blazhennyi*" (Basil the Beatific) (Fig. 13).⁴⁸

NATHALIE SCHEFFER.

46. "Come onto Mt. Zion and unto the city of the living God, and to an innumerable company of angels" (Heb., XIII, 22).

47. E. RIEDIN, *Khristianskaia Topografia Kos'my Indikoplova*, Moscow, 1916, pl. XIV; A. OLESNITSKII, *V'ietkhozavietnyi khram. Skinia Moiseia*, in: "Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik," St. Petersburg, 1889, XVI, p. 90.

48. Aug. 2, 1552, St. Vasilii was buried on the place, where the cathedral was erected in 1554. In 1588 Tsar Feodor, son of Ivan the Terrible, added to the complex architecture of the cathedral, a chapel consecrated to Vasilii Blazhennyi, whom he specially venerated. See: V. PROKHOROV, *Khrist. Drevn.*, Moscow, 1871, pp. 21-22.



THREE FRENCH RENAISSANCE TAPESTRIES

AS the French Renaissance is overshadowed in painting by the prior and more creative production of Italy, so is it in tapestry by the sheer volume of the contemporary output in Flanders. Yet the French Renaissance examples that are occasionally brought to notice almost always show a grace and distinction which provide a welcome relief from the stereotyped obviousness that hurried incessantly off the looms of Brussels and her neighboring cities.

Usually the elegant if somewhat languid goddesses and the long-limbed pseudo-Classical heroes of the French designs have been executed on the palace looms of Fontainebleau, but during the same period a number of small private

shops were active in Paris, some of which, at least, maintained an excellent standard.

Most of these were family affairs, with only two or three looms, and when they had a commission too large to execute at one, they cooperated one with another. Thus when Claude de Longwy, Cardinal of Givry and Bishop of Langres, ordered in 1544 for his episcopal cathedral a series of eight tapestries illustrating the life of its patron, Saint Mammès, two of these independent Paris weavers shared the work: Pierre Blacé and Jacques Langlois.

The designer of the series was Jean Cousin, the Elder (c. 1490-1560), who had moved to Paris from Sens only four years before to work on the decorations for the entry of Charles V; but in the interval (1541) he had already made at least one other tapestry cartoon, illustrating the history of Sainte Geneviève, for the Confrérie of Sainte-Geneviève du Mont. Was he one of the regular cartoon purveyors to the Paris Renaissance weavers?

Three of the Saint Mammès tapestries are known, and these, especially the scene where Saint Mammès reads to the beasts,¹ answer in part the question by providing the evidence for the attribution to him of two hitherto puzzling tapestries. One, a fragment of a semi-pictorial verdure, with animals, in an English private collection (Fig. 1), illustrated in a color plate in the current *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Tapestry (pl. II), has been labelled "Arras, 1490." This identification is manifestly impossible, first because Arras had at that time long since ceased to be a producing center, and anyhow we have no definitely known Arras tapestries; and second, because the substantial actuality of the animal drawing is unmistakably Renaissance.

But it has not been easy, on the other hand, to say what the piece really is. It is clearly not Brussels, not Lowland in any known category, and not Flemish in spirit. Was it made on one of the lesser Renaissance looms which were springing up here and there? It could not, though, be Italian.

The question had to be answered, for the *Encyclopaedia* article was being revised. The only technique for dealing with a defiant problem is exploration of all possibilities, even the less probable.

The solution in this case, however, leapt to the eye. The animals waiting to drink in the *Encyclopaedia* color plate, while the unicorn purifies the brook with its horn, are of the same family as those to which Saint Mammès is reading. The goat, the unicorn are almost identical, the bull very close; and, more important, an emphatically solid muscularity is common to them all. Furthermore, the treatment of the grass and flowers coincides — too delicately "Gothic" for the substantial Renaissance realism of the beasts; and in both are jaggedly shattered tree-stumps, such as appear also, in more developed form, in Cousin's

1. H. GÖBEL, *Wandteppiche*, II, Leipzig, 1928, I, p. 30; II, pl. 16.



FIG. 1. — Attributed to Paris shop, mid-XVI Century. — Landscape with animals, tapestry, fragment. — Formerly M. H. MacLanahan Collection, England.

painting — *Venus Prima Pandora*, in the Louvre. Cousin had certainly supplied at least this one other cartoon for Paris weavers, quite probably one or another of the masters with whom his name is already associated.

But this identification, in turn, supplied the answer to a long-pending tapestry question. Thirty-seven years ago M. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot published, in the *Catalogue Raisonné de la Collection Martin Le Roy*,² a handsome panel depicting an elephant hunt (Fig. 2), so unusual in style that even he, widely learned in the field, could only write: "Indeed, it does not resemble any other piece that we know and it is in vain that one looks for comparable pieces . . ." Then, rejecting the possibility of either a Flemish or a German attribution, he

2. Vol. IV, Paris, 1908, pl. 9, pp. 57-59.



FIG. 2. — From a Paris tapestry-shop, mid-XVI Century. — The Elephant Hunt, tapestry. — Formerly, Martin Le Roy Collection, Paris.

ended by leaving the problem open.

Fifteen years later Dr. Göbel claimed the piece categorically for Germany,³ offering as his sole evidence that in the distance there is "a Flemish or German water-mill"; then in his illustration underline he adjusted his assertion, calling the piece Flemish, the work of a "Brussels master engaged in Germany(?)"

But water-mills are water-mills and the "indubitable German imprint" (*unzweifelhaft deutschen Einschlag*) which Dr. Göbel thought he saw, must have been psychologically *a priori*, for it is now evident that the piece is in fact Paris shop-work after a Cousin cartoon. Here is the same elephant as in the *Encyclopaedia* plate, with absurdly enormous ears, hose-thin trunk, stocky legs, slanted eyes; almost the identical unicorn, now, however, attacking an elephant; a closely related hound; and the same flowers and long, delicate grass-clumps, though the tree-stumps are here neatly sawed. The hunters, small-headed, very long-limbed, more degenerate versions of decadent Fontainebleau types, correspond in character to the Mercury and Apollo in the mark of the printer Du Chemin attributed to Cousin.⁴

3. *Op. cit.*, I, Leipzig, 1923, I, p. 169; II, fig. 148.

4. A. FIRMIN-DIDOT, *Un tableau inconnu de Jean Cousin*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," 2d. series, IV (1870), p. 460.

With a half dozen Cousin tapestries now recognized, more may gradually come to light.

A second French panel which found its full identification in the revision of the *Encyclopaedia* article is a Van den Planken production of the middle of the XVII Century. When Raphael's first wife died in January, 1661, his stock was inventoried, and among the sets on hand was a *History of Daphne*. This consisted of five pieces, but only two subjects from it have hitherto been known: the *Pursuit and Metamorphosis of Daphne*; and *Daphne's father, the River-god*



FIG. 3. — From the VAN DEN PLANKEN shop, Paris, mid-XVII Century. — Apollo falling in love with Daphne, tapestry. — Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, England.

*Peneios learning of his daughter's fate.*⁵ The two together passed through the New York art market just before World War I, and the second subject, rendered in an expanded form with nymphs and *putti* added, also passed through the Paris art market (Gunzboung Collection), in January, 1884.

This last example bears the arms of Honoré Grimaldi II, Duc de Valentinois, Prince de Monaco, and the arms appear likewise on a piece in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, illustrated in the *Encyclopaedia* (pl. V, fig. 2). There,

5. GÖBEL, *op. cit.*, II, I, pp. 97-98.

and presumably in the Museum, it is labelled: "*Apollo and the Muses*, a XVII Century French tapestry . . ."; but actually it is the first of the Planken Daphne series, showing Apollo falling in love with Daphne, one of the "lost" designs.

The nymph (Fig. 3), armed for the chase, her hound leaping beside her, runs through the forest in the middle distance, and is espied by Apollo who is about to be shot through the heart by a dart of love from the bow of Eros, hovering above. Apollo is presented strumming his harp, hence as Musagetes, and therefore he is accompanied by Muses — only, however, six of them, sitting in a group to one side. In the foreground is Clio, in a draped décolleté dress, with filleted hair, holding a portfolio and a scroll. The Muse of History may well preside over a story that history recounts. Seated at her feet, leaning against her knee, is Euterpe, holding a flute — for Apollo, the hero, is patron of her art, music. Beyond her is Erato, holding a stringed instrument, presumably a form of cithara; she fosters songs of love, hence the relevance. In the background, holding up a mask, is Melpomene, for the story ends in tragedy. The contemplative lady beside her is probably Polhymnia, inventor of myths, who has no attribute. The sixth damsel, in confidential conversation with Erato, might be Calliope, who was responsible for heroic poems.

The story continues in the border, with Apollo again, pedestalled on an elaborate amphora (upper left side); below, Pan, in whose woodland domain the story evolved; Eros, the guilty one, balancing Apollo; and finally, the arboreal metamorphosis of Daphne, tactfully and decoratively handled. A bearded mask of an elderly man, in the center of each side, introduces Peneios, his identity as a River-god indicated by the twisting of his beard into a guilloche, a very ancient water-motive.

In the upper and lower borders Erotes are merged, in the late Roman fashion, with foliate scrolls. Each of the center pair, above and below, plays with a couchant lion, a Pompeian theme from West Asiatic cultic sources — long since, of course, forgotten. A splendid hound dashes away at each side below, and in each upper corner is Marsyas playing the flute, Apollo's musical rival.

The painter is unidentifiable, but the style — esthetically commonplace — is historically interesting for it is truly intermediate between the Renaissance and the XVIII Century. Daphne, long-legged, with a tiny head, is a much-delayed relic of the Fontainebleau school. Most of the Muses, feminine, doll-faced, are the great-grandmothers (but minus the sapient allure) of Boucher's pretty girls. Both technically and artistically, Paris was ready to initiate the achievement of the Gobelins.

PHYLLIS ACKERMAN.



LATROBE AND THE JOHN POPE HOUSE

SOME original plans for a house drawn by the great American architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), have just been identified with an existing building. Mr. Latrobe, who has been called the father of the architectural profession in America, is credited with a considerable number of works, dating from the first Greek Revival and Gothic Revival structures in this country — the Bank of Pennsylvania (1798), and the rural villa Sedgley (1799) — to the Louisiana State Bank, built from his designs during the years immediately following his death. His fame in America would have been assured by his bringing to perfection the large interiors of the United States Capitol, even if he had not introduced the Greek Revival, which grew into our first national architectural style. The start that Robert Mills and William Strickland received under his direction is further proof of his greatness.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe is known to have designed about a score of residences which were actually carried to completion,¹ yet the fate of nearly every one of them was sealed long ago: Sedgley, already mentioned, was pulled down in 1857;² the Burd, Markoe, and Waln houses in Philadelphia were demolished too; the fine Van Ness mansion in Washington was razed in 1908 to make way for the Pan-American Building;³ the Decatur house, also in Washington, has been much remodeled.

The country beyond the Allegheny Mountains has proved to be slightly more hospitable to his work. Near Chillicothe, Ohio, there stands a stocky house of rough stone, the final design of which is attributed to Latrobe. The house — Adena — was begun by Thomas Worthington late in the XVIII Century.⁴ From his *Journal*, we know that Latrobe designed two houses for the commonwealth to the south — Kentucky. These were the Governor Taylor house at Newport, and the residence of the Hon. Henry Clay, outside Lexington.⁵ The Taylor house was burned twenty-five years after it was built; and, although tourists flock to see the home of the Hon. Henry Clay, it is an eclectic building that they view, erected on the site in 1857, after the death of the statesman.

This, briefly, is the situation of the domestic architecture designed by America's foremost XIX Century architect. And it is exactly this situation which makes the discovery of a house built from his plans significant.

A short while ago, the Library of Congress issued cards to the effect that it had been the recipient of certain original Latrobe renderings, the bequest of Captain William Claiborne Latrobe. One group of about twenty-five sheets was classified as "Designs of buildings erected or proposed to be built in Virginia," dated 1795 to 1799.

Three sheets pertain to a single villa, on one of which is inscribed: *B H Latrobe Jan. 9 1811* — over a decade later than the group classification allows⁶ (Fig. 1). On this particular sheet are the basement and principal story floor plans for a square classic house measuring fifty-four feet on a side. The lower story accommodates an entrance hall, office, parlor, the two stairways, kitchen,

1. WILLIAM SENER RUSK, *Benjamin H. Latrobe and the Classical Influence in his Work*, "Maryland Historical Magazine," June, 1936, pp. 126-154.

2. FISKE KIMBALL, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, New York, 1927, p. 290.

3. JOHN MEAD HOWELLS, *Lost Examples of Colonial Architecture*, New York, 1931, pl. 48.

4. *Federal Writers Project, Chillicothe and Ross County, Ohio*, AMERICAN GUIDE SERIES, 1938, p. 51. The house is said to have been started in 1789, which is seven years before Latrobe's arrival in this country. PROF. TALBOT HAMLIN gives Latrobe credit for the design, which he bases on evidence furnished by his son, Ferdinand Latrobe. TALBOT HAMLIN, *Greek revival architecture in America*, New York, Oxford, 1944, p. 281.

5. Page xxxi.

6. The third sheet, not included among the illustrations for this article, contained a roof plan and cross section.

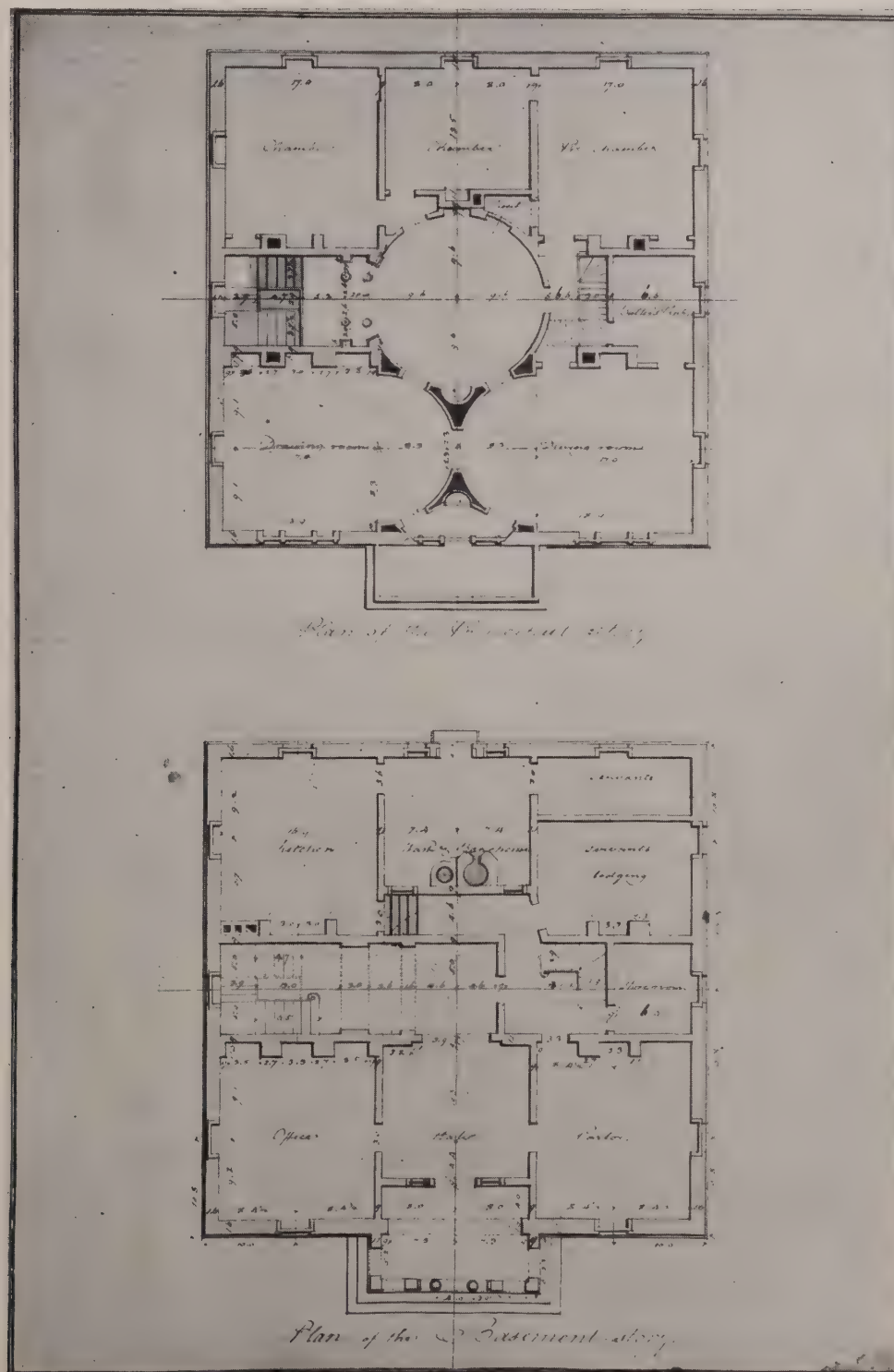


FIG. 1. — B. H. LATROBE. — Plans for a residence, Jan. 9, 1811. Courtesy Library of Congress.

wash- and bake-house, and servants' rooms. The rooms for entertaining, with a butler's pantry and three bedrooms, are above — a fashionable arrangement of Renaissance precedence. The geometry of the rooms on the principal floor is most interesting, having a circular rotunda in the center which fits into the bowed ends of the front drawing and dining rooms.

The arrangement is as unusual as it is interesting; and that an old house built in Lexington, Kentucky (not Virginia), should have virtually this same scheme — with the main elements corresponding in figure, relative positions, and dimensions (Fig. 2) — points toward the authorship of Mr. Latrobe.⁷ The overall measurement of the cubic structure is fifty-four feet; and it was built about three years after the date affixed to the plans.⁸

The house in Lexington has been discussed in a former issue of the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," under the title, *Palladianism in the Bluegrass*.⁹ This recent discovery throws new and important light upon the building, and requires that certain points not broached before now be brought out. Also, certain previous conclusions need to be reweighed against the fresh evidence, and thereby justified or discarded.

In the first place, political affiliations between Mr. John Pope, for whom the house was built, and President Thomas Jefferson, himself an accomplished amateur architect, suggested to the author that Jefferson had had a hand in the design of the Lexington building. This was further substantiated by the fact that several physical characteristics of the house recall similar ones in Jefferson's buildings, or plans for buildings drawn by the versatile president.¹⁰

One might ask if these were not all current early XIX Century features. Perhaps so. Many of them were circulated in the builders' handbooks of the times. But the fact remains that the most individualistic of them were not commonly used. True, an architect other than Thomas Jefferson might have hit upon the plan for the Pope house, but who could it have been?

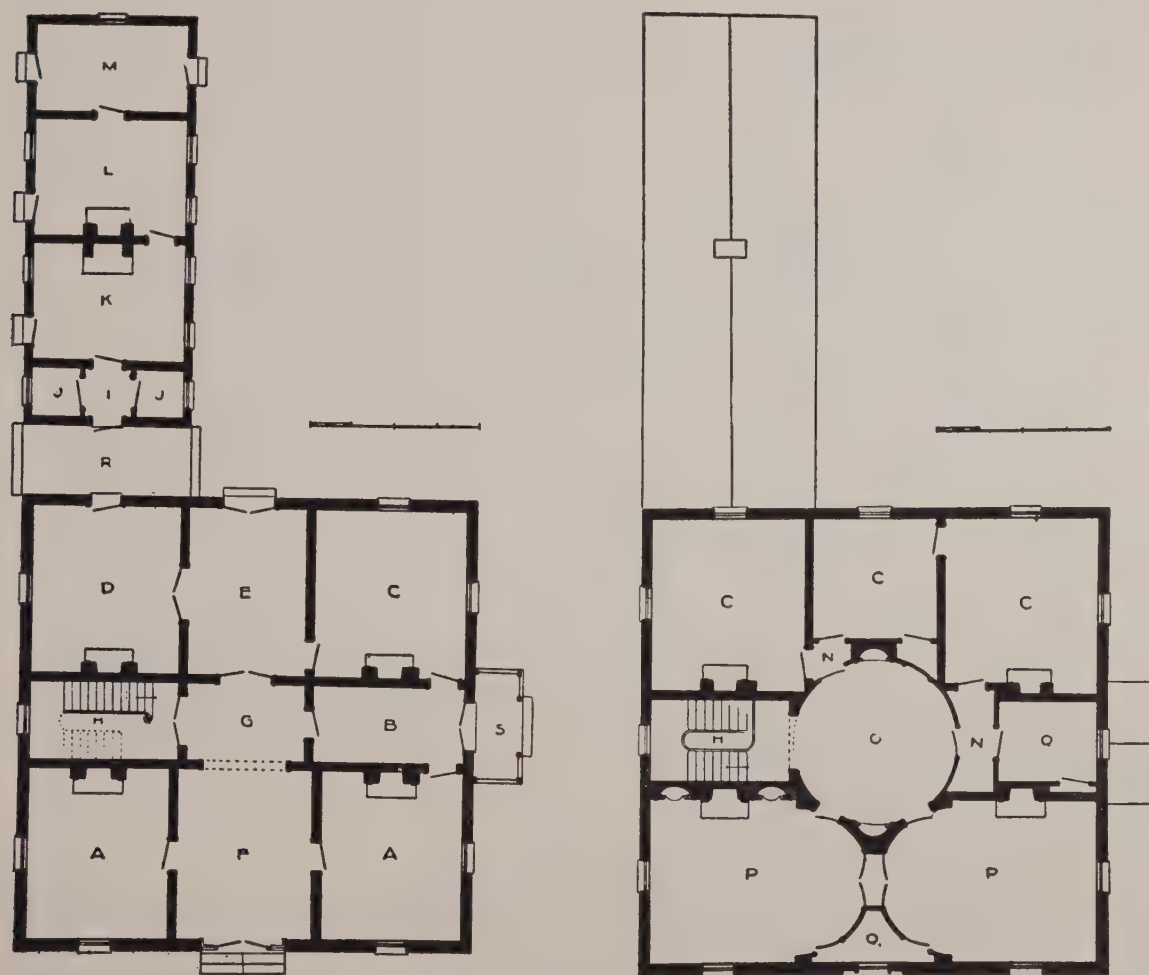
Both Robert Mills and Benjamin H. Latrobe were considered, since each had worked with Jefferson; and through the latter an introduction to either might have been arranged for Mr. Pope. However, the obvious objection to these two is that the house shows not the slightest trace of the Revival styles of which both were exponents. Secondly, neither of them is known to have made plans similar

7. PROF. TALBOT HAMLIN calls attention to another plan by Latrobe, proposed for the commandant's quarters of the Allegheny Arsenal at Pittsburgh, in which the curved ends of two rooms join, and the bow of a third room, the same shape and at right angles, fits into them much as the rotunda in Fig. 1. The plan bears no further similarities, these being located on the ground floor of a house less than 37 feet deep. This plan was not used. CHARLES MORSE STOTZ, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, New York, 1936, pp. 255-256, 22 (illustration).

8. The land on which it stands was purchased by the owner in April, 1814.

9. VI series, vol. XXV, June, 1944, pages 347-370.

10. *Ibid.*, pages 355-358.



FIGS. 2a. & 2b. — Plans of the John Pope house in Lexington, Kentucky. LEGEND: A. Parlors, B. Side hall, C. Chambers, D. Dining room, E. F. G. Transverse hall, H. Stair hall, I. Entry to service wing, J. Pantries, K. Kitchen, L. Laundry, M. Tool room or Servants' room, N. Connecting halls, O. Rotunda, P. Drawing rooms, Q. Ante-rooms, R. Dogtrot, S. Porch.

to Jefferson's.¹¹ Furthermore, Latrobe's *Journal* states that Latrobe planned the Taylor and Clay residences to be built in Kentucky, but no other is mentioned. To be sure, this cannot be taken as conclusive proof against his having done others; still, it seems strange that any building by him that was actually executed should not have been listed. In the face of the foregoing arguments, Jefferson appeared to be the plausible man to have helped with the Pope house. But facts have been found contradictory to this reasoning.^{11a}

11. In addition to the similarities of the ground floor plans discussed before, an early plan (about 1769) in the Collection of Jefferson Drawings belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society has rooms with apselike alcoves (or 7' fireplaces?) back to back. Dr. Kimball does not attribute this sketch to Jefferson himself, however. FISKE KIMBALL, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, Boston, Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1916, plate 3.

11a. A design drawn for John Pope is said to be mentioned in the notes of Latrobe ("Maryland Historical Magazine," September, 1938, p. 258), no doubt referring to the plans herein discussed.



FIG. 3. — The John Pope house in 1940.

A word must be said in defense of the restored plans as presented here (Fig. 2), since the house as it stands today has suffered numerous changes (Fig. 3). At present divided into four apartments, the rear wing removed and replaced by a two-story extension hardly one-third the length of the old, and with a good portion of the interior gutted — including the complete removal of the stairway in exchange for a new flight of steps inside the rotunda (the balance partitioned into small halls and odd closets), and the destruction of the curved walls of the front rooms upstairs to make way for an extra bedroom in the center — the reconstruction was made possible only through the combined helpfulness of six individuals familiar with the house before its final desecration, checked by a careful examination of the actual structure.¹²

However, the house had been considerably altered at the time of its purchase by the Woolfolk family in 1865,¹³ and no one could be found who knew the house before that date. The facade felt the change most strongly, acquiring banks of arched windows, a recessed doorway, a long cast-iron porch, and an overhanging cornice supported on coupled brackets, with a gable in the center — this last re-

12. *Palladianism in the Bluegrass*, p. 360, footnote 21. Especially helpful was a sketch of the plan drawn from memory by Miss MAMIE B. WOOLFOLK of Memphis, Tenn., who formerly lived in the house.

13. Deed Book No. 40, page 334, Fayette County Court Records, Lexington, Ky.

peated on the other three sides of the building (Fig. 4). Parts of the iron railing were later utilized between the square brick piers of the apartment house porches. Bay windows were attached to both flanks of the house as well. The original front had been simple and neat. Since some of the voussoirs forming the elliptical arch of the door and the flat arches of the windows were not removed during intervening alterations, the appearance of the 1814 house could be restored graphically without much hesitation.¹⁴ The pattern of the lead muntins in the fan and sidelights framing the door alone had to be resolved by guesswork (Fig. 5).¹⁵

To be sure, the John Pope house looked quite different from the Latrobe proposed facade (Fig. 6, upper sketch) but the difference is only skin deep as it were — a matter of architectural style. The doorway and the fenestration have corresponding places, and even the number of sash-lights of the principal story windows are in agreement. The hipped roof is a common feature, and so are the plain chimneys. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, the architect, gave his elevation an architectonic treatment — a balustrade at the top of the roof, shallow hood-molds over the windows, a string course at the upper floor level, and a projecting Tuscan entrance portico — which was, no doubt, merely so much extrinsic nonsense to the western contractor, for XIX Century provincial builders were a stubborn lot!



FIG. 4.—A photograph of the John Pope house taken during the early 1890's.

The result was that Mr. Pope was able to have his more elegant, higher ceilings upstairs, but no basement story handling of the lower wall. He was allowed a Federal fan frontispiece, but unspoiled by an entrance shelter, and an octagonal cupola had to satisfy his taste for enrichment of the roofline. The final result was more old-fashioned than the Latrobe exterior, but it was not without merit.

14. The elements of the present recessed doorway are of late date, being machine-made. The early, small brick voussoirs show that the arched doorway was flush.

15. The design, as drawn, is similar to those of several fine contemporary houses in this region.

It was more in keeping with contemporary Kentucky architecture, which might have been the objective of Mr. Pope himself.¹⁶

Subordinating the lower story in size, and then attaching to it a complex, decorative porch, makes the Latrobe design seem at cross purposes, not to mention that the proportions suffer. Latrobe's alternative elevation with the attic half-story, has more harmony among its parts (Fig. 6, lower). By virtue of the larger wall area, the windows do not strike one as being such disproportioned gaps in the wall; but here, again, the portico is too mincing for the height allowed it. The omission of the arches would have made it more acceptable — a step in the

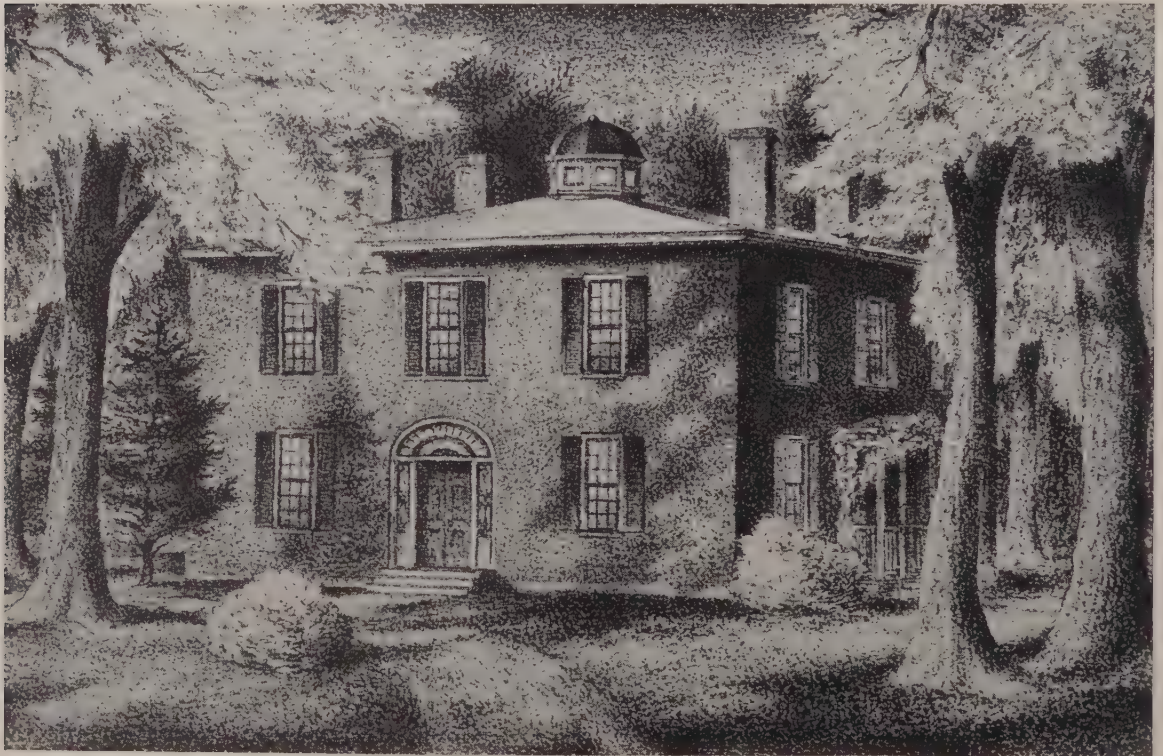


FIG. 5. — Conjectural appearance of the John Pope house prior to 1865.

direction of greater strength and simplicity as a solitary feature, and a better relationship of the voids of this protruding form to the triple window in the main mass behind and above, besides the elimination of openings which were a false note in the composition, both in scale and outline.

Bringing a building to completion minus some of the architectural dress planned for it, was a not unusual early XIX Century occurrence, even when the architect supervised the job in person. Witness the finished directness of Mill's

16. *Palladianism in the Bluegrass*, pages 353-354.

Monumental Church in Richmond, built at the time, as contrasted with his elaborate first scheme.¹⁷ Any deviation from the architect's plans might lead to his acceptance as the architectural composer with reservations; but if the main idea is carried through, he must be given credit for having been its creator.

Some such degree of credit is due Mr. Latrobe for this house in Kentucky.

The real anatomy of a building is the plan, and in this respect Benjamin H. Latrobe unquestionably fathered the John Pope house. The chief element in the Pope house to be reconciled and explained is the long wing at the rear, housing the kitchen, laundry, etc., rooms which Latrobe had placed inside the cube, across the back of the lower story. An old lithographic view of the City of Lexington from the south, furnishes the information that the wing was in existence in 1857;¹⁸ and the photograph showing the east wall (Fig. 4) reveals an arched fan above the kitchen door, which would hardly have been put there after 1835, because the Greek Revival style seldom departed from post and lintel openings. The *dogtrot*, or porch open at both sides (R on plan, Fig. 2), was also an earlier device.

The question that remains to be settled is whether the ell was constructed simultaneously with the main mass or added. The author believes it was an addition, perhaps built within the next five years. The house changed hands during that quinquennium, and stories about the high standard of living of the second owner, Major William S. Dallam, have become local tradition. One wonders that he was able to entertain the nation's great as lavishly as he is reputed to have done in a house as small as this one, even including the wing.¹⁹

The "restored" plans that have been drawn would, therefore, be those of the second period in the development of the house. Could the house during the first period have followed the lines of the Latrobe plans? In the main it is believed that the answer is yes.

As has been said before, there is no trace of the stairway. Yet, there is one subtle indication that the service stairs existed at one time. This is the slight angle to the wall of the room corresponding to the one Mr. Latrobe has labelled "Servants Lodging," forming the small plane containing the door to the hall, near the foot of the stairway. This angle is still in the Lexington house; but at the time of examination, no light could be thrown upon it in terms of the early plan, so it was taken to be a rather queer means for obtaining a shallow corner closet for an apartment bedroom. Now it is clear that it was there to allow passage from the kitchen corridor to the service stair-hall. Then the hall in the

17. H. M. PIERCE GALLAGHER, *Robert Mills, Architect of the Washington Monument*, New York, Columbia, 1935, illustration facing pp. 80 and 82.

18. *View of the City of Lexington, Ky.*, drawn on stone and printed in oil colors by Middleton, Wallace and Company, Cincinnati, Ohio. An impression is owned by Mr. James M. Molloy, Mount Brilliant Farm, Lexington.

19. C. FRANK DUNN, *Aaron Burr visited Lexington — but he was only one of many notables*, "In Kentucky," Official Publication of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Winter Edition, 1944, p. 21.

middle downstairs would have been the Latrobe square; but all of this section having been remodeled, there is nothing left for either proving or disproving the supposition. The gain of the later side entrance hall was achieved at the sacrifice of the service steps.

There is one minor distinction between the two plans for which there is evidence — the fact that the main stairway ascended against the right- instead of the left-hand wall of the east arm of the hall. The volute at the lower end of the hand-rail was fortunately preserved, and it spirals from the center counter-clockwise — a sure sign that the steps were to the right.²⁰

Emphasizing once more the obvious proof that the John Pope house was built from the Latrobe plans, one may note the identity of measurements — demonstrable by superimposing the Latrobe drawings on the plans of the Pope house reduced to the same scale and noting the lines that coincide. It would be well to mention a few historical factors before bringing this study to a close.

John Pope served as a senator in Washington from March 4, 1807 until March 3, 1813.²¹ The Latrobe plans, you will remember, were dated January 9, 1811. Benjamin H. Latrobe was in Washington at that time too, having begun his work on the Capitol in 1803 and continued it until Charles Bulfinch relieved him of the duty fourteen years later. It would be unlikely, to say the least, that the two men were not acquainted. It is only fair to admit that local historians of the opening decades of the present century attributed the house to Latrobe; but, it must be added, they did the same thing with nearly every other home of well-to-do Kentuckians built before 1820 — and some proved to be built considerably later. A typical statement runs: "he [John Pope] met the famous architect, Benjamin H. Latrobe, and engaged his services to design the house which he built during his senatorial term . . ."²² Since Mr. Pope did not purchase the land until the year following his "senatorial term," it is unlikely that he started construction on someone else's property. The early owners are invariably described as living in the house bedecked with all the gingerbread trimmings accumulated during the latter half of the XIX Century. Or else we get word-pictures such as this for the rotunda: "About the walls are niches for statuary framed in fragile Ionic columns beautifully carved in lotus leaves . . ." showing not only inability to recognize the basic architectural styles (the columns being Corinthian), but of simple botanical shapes as well.²³

Flowery language and impressive attributions are all very nice; but our

20. *Palladianism in the Bluegrass*, p. 359, footnote *19.

21. CHARLES KERR, *History of Kentucky*, Chicago and New York, "The American Historical Society," 1922, vol. II, p. 1096.

22. An article by JUDGE KERR printed in "The Lexington Herald," April 15, 1917, pp. 2, 11.

23. Acanthus and other complex ornaments were applied metal castings (usually lead or pewter) rather than carved from wood, the whole then being painted.

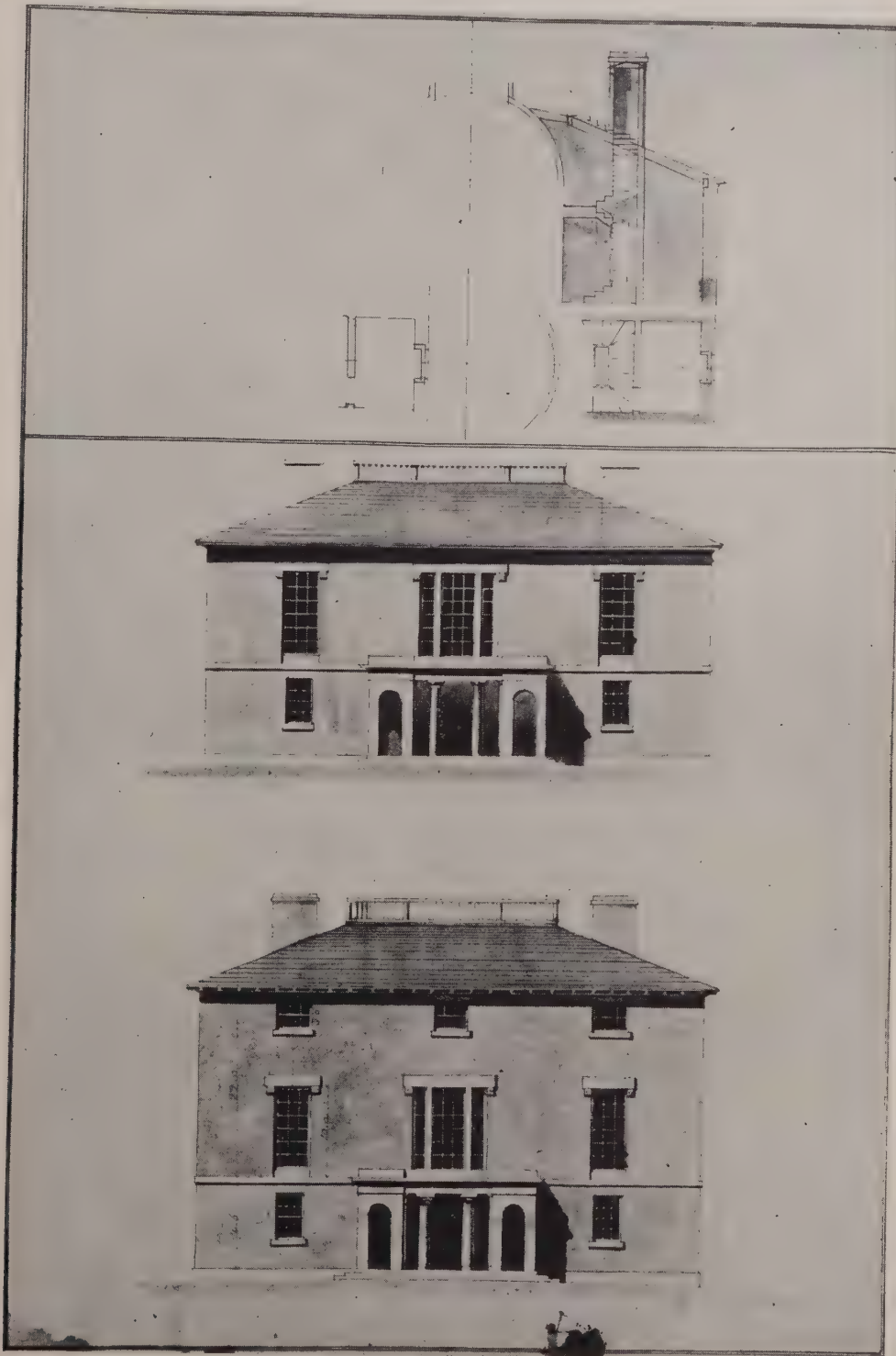


FIG. 6. — BENJAMIN H. LATROBE. — Alternative elevations for a house accompanying the plans shown in Fig. 1.
Courtesy Library of Congress.

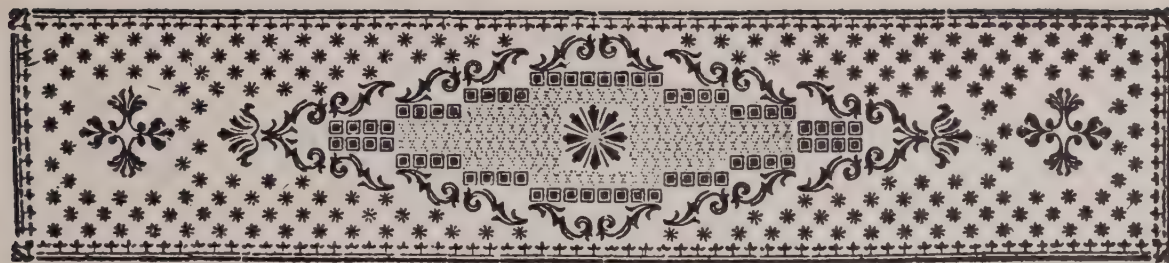
American architecture deserves better — accuracy and proof, or at least attributions deduced from logical evidence rather than hearsay — especially if we are striving for a store of more complete and true information. There is still an horizon for the architectural historian, and the story unravels itself little by little.

Thus, there has been found a house that was built relatively faithful to floor plans conceived by Benjamin H. Latrobe, although liberties were taken with his exterior design. This, the John Pope house, is the building in the Commonwealth of Kentucky that can be attributed to Latrobe, and not the rebuilt home of Henry Clay seen by the tourist.

And what the author formerly believed to be reconstructed plans of the original Pope house, somewhat indebted to Thomas Jefferson, turn out to be the remodeling of a Latrobe composition.

CLAY LANCASTER.





IMPRESSIONISM COMES TO AMERICA

"The Americans come over here, and what do they admire? Is it Degas or Manet? No, Bouguereau and Lefebvre."

GEORGE MOORE, *Confessions of a Young Man*, 1886.

IN MARCH 1886, the same year in which George Moore scoffed at the Americans, the American Art Association opened a show at their New York premises in Jackson Square, dedicated to the French Impressionists. Though the importance of this exhibition can well bear comparison with that of the Armory Show of 1913, we have been told little about it. We can however,

learn a few facts concerning this enterprise from Lionello Venturi who published Paul Durand-Ruel's archives.¹ But this evidence is not sufficient to reconstruct the background of an event which decisively influenced the manner of collecting in this country.

In order to realize fully the novelty of the New York exhibition in 1886, one has to consider the kind of standing the Impressionists enjoyed in Paris at that time. It was the same year in which Felix Fénéon brought out his pamphlet on the Impressionists in favor of the movement which had come to the fore more than ten years before. At that time the battle was still far from being won in Paris; even in 1891 a picture by Monet exhibited in Goupil's shop window caused something like a riot and had to be removed. A few years later, in 1895, when the painter Caillebotte died, bequeathing his collection of modern paintings to the French State, the conditions under which this extraordinary legacy of paintings might be accepted were grudgingly stipulated.

Before 1886 there had been only a few scattered opportunities in this country for becoming acquainted with this kind of French art. The first showing of an Impressionist picture had been quite grotesque.

In November 1879 a French singer, Madame Ambre, came to this country with her manager and friend, Gaston de Beauplan, for an engagement with Colonel Mapleson's Italian opera company in New York and Boston. Supposedly wishing to oblige Manet, for whom she had posed, Madame Ambre had brought along his *Shooting of Maximilian*, now at the Kunsthalle, Mannheim (Fig. 1). Since the Paris police had forbidden the public exhibition of this picture, Madame Ambre tried to benefit from such publicity for her own purposes. On the evening before the picture was shown to the public in New York, at the Clarendon Hotel, corner of Eighth Street and Broadway, one hundred twenty persons were invited for a preview; but only about fifty turned up. The buffet supper being most engaging, everybody admired the picture. Three American painters were especially enthusiastic, and one would like to imagine that Manet's admirer, William Merrit Chase, was among them. Posters were put up and handbills printed, embellished with a picture of Madame Ambre on one side, and Manet's canvas on the other, and inscribed thus: "Come in! Come in to see the famous picture of the famous painter Ed. Manet!" Although the success was small, Count Gaston sent the expense account to Manet.

In Boston, Manet's ambassadors continued their efforts and exhibited the painting at the Studio Building Gallery. As Madame Ambre maintained in a letter to Manet, much to her dislike, she had to empty many a glass of punch and even champagne to entertain the boys of the press. Unfortunately, however, this kind of persuasion was unsuccessful. While the New York correspondent of the "Boston

1. L. VENTURI, *Les Archives de l'Impressionisme*, 2 vols. (1939).



FIG. 1. — EDOUARD MANET. — Shooting of Maximilian. — Kunsthalle Mannheim, Germany.

Transcript" was fascinated by the painting and considered it to be "singularly powerful and striking in its originality,"² the "Transcripts'" Boston reporter felt that there was "nothing of strength or effect in the painting to palliate its slack execution."³ With the Boston show apparently turning out to be a complete flop, and expenses mounting, Gaston de Beauplan and Madame Ambre renounced their plan to proceed to Chicago — referred to by Gaston as the city of "lard, Jews and swine" — and went home to France.

Though this entire effort was ignoble and rather apt to prevent just appreciation of Manet, the reaction of the press was, on the whole, not unfavorable. The "New York Herald" (November 29, 1879), for instance, devoted considerable

2. "Boston Weekly Transcript," December 16, 1879, p. 6.

3. "Boston Evening Transcript," January 3, 1880.

space to the event and had this to say; "Manet is the apostle of French naturalism in painting as Zola is in literature. None of his work, as far as we know, has ever been exhibited in this country . . . its faults as a work of art are many and it is woefully inaccurate, but it has many qualities of excellence which will, however, appeal more to the artist and amateur than to the general public, as a work of an unconventional and original man. It should be interesting to all . . . as coarse as a piece of theatrical scenery . . . extreme naturalism is artistically excellent . . . confused splashes of paint . . . at close sight looking like frozen beef . . . at a distance it assumes the form and action of clasped hands . . . a huge *ébauche* . . . faithfulness of figures and impression of action is almost photographic . . . one is in countless instances reminded of Goya . . . color key is low . . . *la vérité crue*." This reaction seems fair enough for someone, who had most likely never before seen an Impressionist painting.



FIG. 2. — CLAUDE MONET. — My Garden. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

On the whole, Madame Ambre's attempt to advertise Manet along with herself, had no tangible result, except that in 1883 it may have induced Mrs. Th. A. Scott of Philadelphia, a friend of Mary Cassat's, to buy her portrait from Manet's widow.

In the same year that Madame Ambre had tried to introduce Manet to Boston, the American painter, Henry Bacon, a former pupil of Cabanel, who had been living in Paris since 1870, published a series, *Glimpses of Parisian Art*, in "Scribners' Monthly" (December 1880-April 1881). Immediately thereafter these articles were worked up more fully into a book which was published in Boston. This must have been quite successful, since it was reprinted at least twice. Of the "somewhat famous company of Impressionists or Independents," Bacon mentions Manet as the chief inventor and apostle; according to Bacon it was Manet who had begun the fashion of representing "nature out of tune." Bacon repeats the kind of arguments we are familiar with through

Albert Wolff's "distinguished pen," and then comes to the somewhat erratic conclusion that "Alfred Stevens might have been the founder of this school, had he not been so great a master."

The first real opportunity for this country to become acquainted with Impressionism came in 1883, when the "Foreign Exhibition" was opened in Boston on September 3. This so-called International Exhibition for Art and Industry was held under the auspices of a number



FIG. 3. — CLAUDE MONET. — Tide at Pourville. — Havemeyer Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

of governments and was presented in the Mechanic's Building. Since the French Government had assumed a certain portion of the expenses for the French section, and the building had been declared a bonded warehouse, thus making all exhibits tax-free up to the moment they were sold, this offered a rare opportunity to import paintings under favorable conditions. Among those who availed themselves of this opportunity was Durand-Ruel. Though his name is not mentioned in the catalogue, we know from a letter written by Pissarro to Monet (June 12, 1883)⁴ that Durand-Ruel sent some Impressionist pictures to Boston. But Pissarro was convinced that this enterprise could not be very successful since some Americans had told him that the exhibition was going to be quite mediocre and would have no influence. Nevertheless, Durand-Ruel was optimistic and thought that he "should try to revolutionize the new world simultaneously with the old."⁵ From the carefully edited catalogue,⁶ we learn various details about Durand-Ruel's first

4. GUSTAVE GEFFROY, *Claude Monet*, 1922, p. 162.

5. CAMILLE PISSARRO, *Letters to Lucien*, 1943, p. 33.

6. The title page reads: *Catalogue of the Art Department (Illustrated). Foreign Exhibition, Boston, Mass., 1883*. [Copy in Public Library, Boston]. This catalogue contains only foreign works of art, listing fifty-seven oil paintings from France, sixty miscellaneous, including also French paintings, fifty Italian paintings, forty-three water colors, furthermore sculptures, "black and white," framed photographs and paintings from the Jarves Collection. It is illustrated with fourteen pen drawings by H. A. Burdick and E. G. Tarbell. The Impressionist entries were: Manet, *Entombment of Christ, Portrait of Rouvière*; Monet, *Customhouse Station Dieppe, My Garden, Tide at Varengeville*; Pissarro, *Shepherd and Washerwoman, Suburbs of Pontoise, Goatherd, Poultrymarket, Winnowers, Peasant Tending a Cow*; Renoir, *A Box at the Opera, Boatmen's Breakfast at Bougival, Fisherman's Children*; Sisley, *Barrier on the Shore, Autumn Morning St. Mammès, Grande Promenade*.



FIG. 4. — AUGUSTE RENOIR. — Boatsman's Lunch at Bougival. — Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C. Courtesy of the Phillips Memorial Gallery.

venture in the American market, though we cannot ascertain exactly which pictures were sent by him and which by others.

There were oil paintings and water colors by leaders of the contemporary school: two by Manet, three by Monet (Figs. 2 and 3), six by Pissarro, three by Renoir (Fig. 4), and three by Sisley. Courbet and Corot were also represented. Pictures by John Lewis Brown and E. Boudin might also have been sent by Durand-Ruel.

A drawing after Manet's *Entombment of Christ* (Fig. 5), appeared in the catalogue as a frontispiece and probably represents the first Impressionist painting reproduced in this country.

Though the pictures in this exhibition seem quite impressive to us, we must realize that surrounded by Salon pictures and various kinds of decorative objects, their showing could not have been very effective, especially as they were presented to a public completely unprepared for Impressionist or any other modern tendencies. While the "Art Amateur"⁷ gave only a few lines to a review of the Im-

7. "Art Amateur," 9, 1883, p. 90.

pressionists on exhibition, stating that these young men were "not without talent, although their conceit of themselves is certainly excessive, and that Manet's *Entombment* was by no means so satisfactory a performance as Henri Levy's picture of the same subject," the New York "Studio" did not even mention the exhibition. So Pissarro's prophecy turned out to be right. The picture show was not only quite unsuccessful, but, worse than that, the Impressionists were not even discussed, or as Pissarro had feared, were regarded as "sick or mad."⁸

But the Boston enterprise was followed very soon by an exhibition which really offered a good opportunity to introduce the Impressionists to the American public. It so happened that in the fall of 1883 the Statue of Liberty was given to this country by the French Government and feelings about Franco-American relations were running high. Since funds had to be procured to provide a pedestal for the statue, an Art Loan Exhibition was arranged for this purpose at the National Academy of Design.

Fortunately, the arrangement of the paintings in this show, which was to become the event of the New York season, had been assigned to William Merritt Chase and his friend Carrol Beckwith. Under their spirited leadership, popular French contemporary artists like D  taille and Meissonier, received the same severe setback that the American oldtimers had experienced at the New York Academy



FIG. 5. — EDOUARD MANET. — *Entombment*. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From plate in *Catal. of Boston "Foreign Exhib.," 1883.*

8. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.



FIG. 6. — EDOUARD MANET. — *Boy with Sword*. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

show in 1877. At that time Chase, St. Gaudens, and others, who had been responsible for this debacle of the traditionalists, turned their backs on the reactionary institution and founded the Society of American Artists. Chase's policy at the "Pedestal Exhibition" once more aroused strong protest. It was faintly voiced by the "Art Amateur," that there was a "bias of the committee in favor of a certain ultra-artistic class of work."

Indeed only one German picture (by Knaus) had been admitted, Spanish and Italian painters were ignored, and English pictures — well, they would probably only have been permitted "over the dead bodies of the committeemen."⁹

So instead of current paintings, in which New York dealers had mostly invested, there was a rich collection of paintings by Millet, Corot, Géricault, Courbet and all the Barbizon painters.

Many of these had been imported years ago by the farsighted dealer, S. H. Vose, of Providence and Boston, who had been so well advised by the American painter "Tom" Robinson, then living in Paris. While these paintings had been revolutionary in their time, and early shipments, beginning in 1852, had been hard to sell, the painters of 1830 had come to be highly favored in 1884. They were represented in all better collections and brought high prices.

What caused protest at this time was not the fact that Chase had favored these works of art, but that he had insisted on rejecting run-of-the-mill pictures and including those Impressionists which for years had been the laughing-stock of private exhibitions in Paris.

Now, Chase's attitude was not the result of chance. While he was staying in Paris in 1881, he met J. Alden Weir, who was buying "pictures" for the New York collector, Erwin Davis. Chase used this occasion to induce Weir to buy Manet's *Boy with the Sword*, now at the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 6), and

9. "Art Amateur," 10, 1884, p. 42.

the *Lady with the Parrot*.¹⁰ Perhaps at that time Weir also bought two landscapes by Manet. Since these pictures, as well as at least one Degas, *Little Ballet Girls in Pink*, owned by Davis were within Chase's reach, he conceived the idea of making them the focus of his exhibition. The rest of the exhibition was to be a background, containing nothing but the finest traditional French paintings.

Probably nobody else but Chase could have exercised such dictatorial power, but, since he was well liked and regarded as somewhat of an eccentric, he suc-

ceeded in getting his idea across and preparing the ground for a fair discussion of the painters he had so valiantly promoted. How heated the discussion became, we may gather from a letter George Inness wrote to the editor of a newspaper, in which he declined to be classed as an Impressionist and stated that, "when people tell me that the painter sees nature in the way the Impressionists do, I say 'Humbug.'"¹¹ Concerning the exhibition which was opened by General Grant on December 3, 1883, the "Art Amateur"¹² had to admit that "the fraction of the Impressionists who have something to say for themselves, cannot quarrel with the showing that

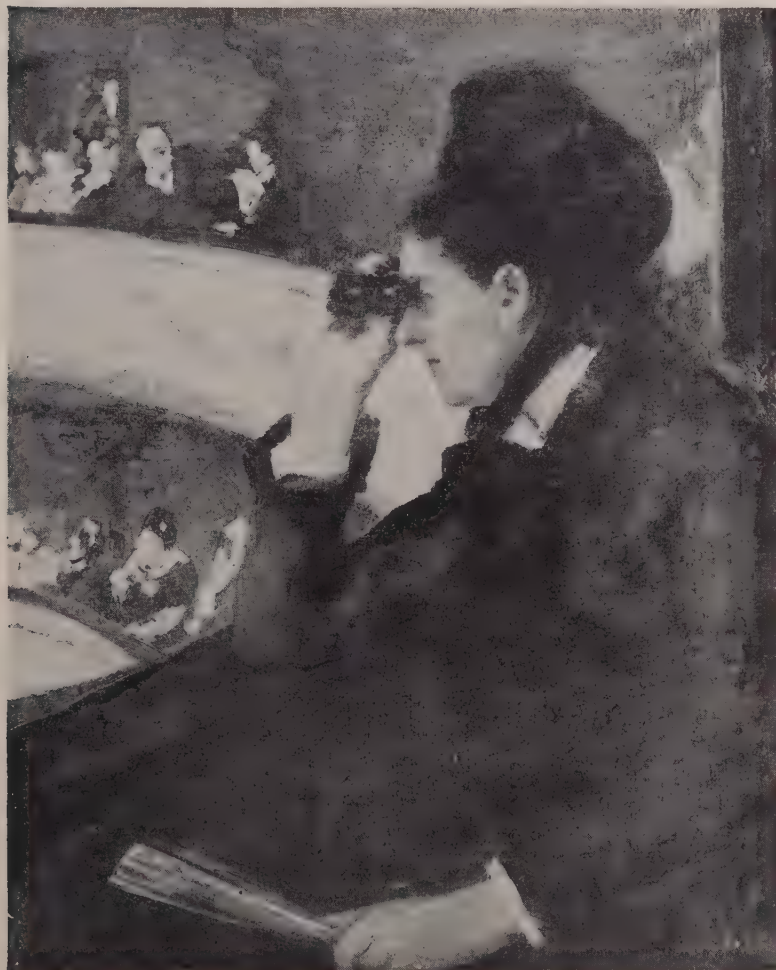


FIG. 7. — MARY CASSATT. — Box at the Opera. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

10. K. M. ROOF, *Life and Art of Chase*, 1917, p. 94. While ROOF supposes that Chase pointed out Manet's pictures to WEIR, DUNCAN PHILLIPS does not mention Chase in this connection (WEIR, *An Appreciation*, 1921, p. 20); PAUL JAMOT-GEORGES WILDENSTEIN (*Manet*, 1932, I, p. 119, No. 42) state that the *Boy with the Sword* was sold to Davis in 1880 but give no date for the *Lady with the Parrot* (p. 133, No. 132). DURAND-RUEL quotes the price for the *Boy* as ten thousand francs (VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, 192). On Davis as a collector, see: WEIR, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

11. GEORGE INNESS, JR., *Life of George Inness*, 1917, p. 169.



FIG. 8. — EDGAR DEGAS. — A Millinery Shop. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. *Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.*

though there are many much better pictures exhibited than this." John C. van Dyke, professor at Rutgers College, a prolific writer on art, reviewing the exhibition in the "Studio," heartily disliked Manet's "scrawny old maid and the disreputable dirty-looking boy" but admitted that the eye will wander back to study the repulsiveness and admire the ugliness of these pictures.¹² When the same author edited a volume on French painting in 1896, he had already changed his opin-

12. "Studio," 2, 1883, p. 263.

they are enabled to make here . . . the Impressionist movement means change, if not progress. There is little doubt that all the good painting of the men who will come into notice during the next ten years, will be tinged with Impressionism, not perhaps as it has been put into words by the critics, but as it has been put into paint by Manet and a few others.

"Looked at in this way, the action of the Committee in giving Manet the place of honor may be excused, al-



FIG. 9. — EDGAR DEGAS. — The Dancing-Lesson. — J. W. Webb Collection, New York. *Courtesy of the owners.*

ion to a certain extent, since he invited Beckwith to write an essay on Manet and published a warm eulogy in his book.

However hesitatingly the "Art Amateur" and public opinion represented by it, followed the movement promoted by Chase and his friends, the ground had been broken and interest had been kindled beyond the innermost circle of those art amateurs who often went to Paris to see the new pictures at first hand. Among



FIG. 10. — EDOUARD MANET. — *The Bullfight*. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. *Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.*

those who kept the ball rolling was "Scribners' Monthly" (called "Century Magazine" since 1881).

Its art columns were managed by E. W. Gilder, a man who was deeply interested in art and was married to the painter Helena de Kay, one of the founders of the Society of American Artists. Gilder treated American progressive artists and Impressionists with interest and understanding and published papers by W. C. Brownell and others about modern artists, museums, and art education.



FIG. 11. — EDOUARD MANET. — *The Philosopher*. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

Here, for example, we may find an early appreciation of Mary Cassatt. At the time she was turned down by the Paris Salon of 1878, the Society of American Artists extended an invitation to her to exhibit at their second exhibition in 1879. This was the same year in which Mary Cassatt met the H. O. Havemeyers, and established a lifelong friendship which was to have many decisive consequences concerning the outlook of the American collector. She sent the Society of American Artists her *Opera Box* (Fig. 7), purchased by the Boston Museum in 1910, and a portrait, both of which were received most favorably. Brownell expressed a lively regret that she should have kept her countrymen in comparative ignorance of the work she was doing, saying that "judging from [the portrait] . . . and from the accompanying *At the Opera* she seems to lack charm, but it is easy to see that in form, few if any among America's women artists are her rivals . . . a good example of the better sort of impressionism."¹³

Such opinions, however, were not general. Very few collectors or dealers would recognize that it was worthwhile to take chances with the new French movement, or for that matter, with the young American painters who had been studying abroad in Munich and Paris, such as Chase and Duveneck of the older generation, and Weir and Twachtman of the younger set. It is quite characteristic that William Schauss, one of the prominent New York dealers, told Durand-Ruel in 1881 that "*Jamais ces tableaux ne seront bons pour notre marché.*"¹⁴ Remembering Schauss' verdict, Durand-Ruel might have anticipated that he could not look forward to many American buyers, when he got up his Manet sale after the painter's death. Though the sale (February 4, 1884) did not turn out

13. W. C. BROWNELL, *The Younger Painters of America*, in: "Scribners' Monthly," 22, 1881, p. 333.

14. "Never will these paintings be good enough for our market," VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 209.

to be the complete flop many had predicted, American buyers were absent and the lack of success further endangered Durand-Ruel's financial situation.¹⁵

By 1885 Durand-Ruel's finances had weakened so much that he was unable to allow more than little handouts to his painter friends. But suddenly salvation came when James F. Sutton, as the representative of the American Art Association, approached Durand-Ruel in the early summer of 1885 and invited him to arrange a show of the paintings sponsored by him, in New York. Though Durand-Ruel naturally was willing to seize this opportunity, his friends disliked the idea. Monet did not wish to have his most recent canvases sent to the "land of the Yankees,"¹⁶ because he thought that after all, "in Paris alone there is some taste." While Renoir was more complacent about the plan and promised to co-operate as well as he could,¹⁷ he believed it would be preferable to send some of his older



FIG. 12. — EDOUARD MANET. — The Philosopher. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

paintings, such as the *Canôtiers*, *La Loge* and the *Pêcheurs de Moules*. These he thought would be most effective, "for they must have a jury over there, too, perhaps not more intelligent than the one in our jolly country."

The invitation to come to New York was made under most favorable conditions for Durand-Ruel. Sutton, a former executive of Macy's Fourteenth Street "Bazaar," together with Thomas I. Kirby, who had been an auctioneer at the saleshouse of George A. Leavitt, had founded the American Art Association in 1877, mainly for the purpose of bringing out American artists. This field had been very much neglected by New York dealers, at least as far as younger artists were concerned. The painters of Dusseldorf and Hudson River School fame, such as Bierstadt, Leutze or Church, had always been "shown amid red plush curtains before footlights and sold for fabulous sums."¹⁸ It seems fair to assume

15. "Art Amateur," 10, 1884, p. 109.

16. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, I, 295.

17. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, I, 132.

18. FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR., *Estimates in Art*, 1931, II, p. 52.



FIG. 13. — CLAUDE MONET. — The Saint Lazare Station. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. *Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.*

that Sutton was indeed bent upon doing a type of business as yet not very promising. As we will see later, this fact was lively contested by other New York dealers. In order to foster his interests, Sutton cloaked his firm in the garb of a non-profit organization and started competitions for artists, with prizes being underwritten mainly by his business friends and customers in New York, Boston, Louisville, St. Louis, and Chicago. This approach was indeed quite successful in spreading interest in the artists he intended to represent.

Since Sutton skillfully managed to have the customs office regard his institution as an educational one, he was able to introduce custom-free, the goods Durand-Ruel had shipped for the New York show. Sutton had acted before his New York competitors had become quite aware of what he was planning. In any case, they would scarcely have feared that the Impressionists and their fellow travelers could do their regular picture imports any harm. On March 23, 1886, Durand-Ruel entered forty-three cases containing about three hundred pic-

tures, valued at \$81,799.¹⁹ These entries were made tax-free with the obligation to pay for such pictures as might be sold later.

The exhibition was opened on April 10, 1886.²⁰ The catalogue contained a number of misprints confusing Monet with Manet. There was an introduction by Duret about the Impressionist painters, a chapter with some "home truths" addressed to the public, and an abbreviated reprint from the same author's *Critique d'Avant-Garde* (Paris 1879). Reprints from London and Paris papers reviewing former exhibitions²¹ were also added.

Unfortunately, the catalogue entries were so much abbreviated that we cannot identify all the pictures. Yet there is sufficient evidence to afford a general idea about the impression the exhibition must have made; measured by present-day evaluation, it must have been quite overwhelming. To realize this, one must try to visualize what the following figures mean: Among the three hundred pictures²² on exhibiton, there were about twenty-three Degas' (Figs. 8 and 9), seven-

19. U. S. National Archives, Washington, D. C. Case 4606 E. Files Div. of Customs. Dep. 1. Rec. gr. 56.

20. R. BRIMO's statement (in: *L'Evolution du Gout aux Etats-Unis*, 1938, p. 158) that the exhibition was opened in 1885 is wrong, so is his remark that "*on ne se moqua pas de ces tableaux comme à Paris*;" compare reviews quoted later on.

21. The title page of the second (complete) edition of the catalogue reads: *National Academy of Design. Special Exhibition. Works in oil and pastel by the Impressionists of Paris. MDCCCLXXXVI. Exhibition under the Management of the American Art Association of the City of New York.* (Copy at the New York Public Library). Reviews quoted are taken from the following papers: "Evening Standard," London, July 13, 1883; "Journal des Débats," October 25, 1884, by CHARLES PELLET; "Echo de Paris," January 13, 1885, by ALEXANDRE GEORGET; "La République Française," May 11, 1885, by PHILIPPE BURTY; "La France," November 21, 1884, and December 8, 1884, by OCTAVE MIRBEAU; "La Justice," June 23, 1883, by G. GEFFROY; "Le Temps," February 10, 1881.

22. Among the more important entries the following may be quoted: Among the DEGAS pictures there were two *Dance Rehearsals* (perhaps the canvas and pastel now owned by the Metropolitan Museum, dated about 1876); the *Ballet from Robert le Diable*, 1872 (Metropolitan Museum, New York, or Victoria and Albert Museum, London); the *Café Singer*, 1884 (? Clark Collection, New York); *Visit to the Museum*, about 1876 (Degas Sale, 1918, No. 34 or 126); *Woman in a Café*, 1884 (Catalogue of the Renoir Exhibition, Paris, Orangerie, 1937, No. 43). Besides there were paintings of *Dancers*, *Washerwomen*, *Jockeys*, *Milliners*, etc. MANET was represented by the *Absinth Drinker*, 1858 (Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen); the *Boy with the Sword*, 1861 (Metropolitan Museum, since 1889); *Lola de Valence*, 1862 (Louvre, Paris); *Combat of the Kearsarge*, 1864 (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art); *Still Life with Salmon*, 1869 (Sold to H. O. Havemeyer in 1886 for fifteen thousand francs: VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, 189. *Cat. Havemeyer Coll.*, 1931, p. 397); two *Philosophers*, 1865 (Art Institute of Chicago); the *Fifre*, 1866 (Louvre, Paris); the *Bullfight*, 1866 (Art Institute of Chicago); *On the Balcony*, 1869 (Louvre, Paris); *Croquet Party*, 1871 (Probably JAMOT-WILDENSTEIN, No. 197, Coll. Madame Caillebotte, Paris, in 1931); *Racecourse*, 1872 (Probably JAMOT-WILDENSTEIN, No. 205, Coll. Durand-Ruel); *Hamlet*, 1872 (Essen Museum); *In the Hothouse*, 1878 (National Galerie, Berlin); *L'Assomoir* (?); *Rochefort*, 1881 (Kunstshalle, Hamburg); *Boats on the Meuse*, 1872 (JAMOT-WILDENSTEIN, No. 212, once owned by A. J. Cassatt). Of all these works by Manet, seven or eight are now in this country, four in France, three in Germany, one in Denmark, one is unaccounted for. Among MONET's and PISSARRO's numerous contributions none can be identified, though one would like to imagine that the *St. Lazare Station* on exhibition was the one now in the Art Institute of Chicago. The *Toilet* by Berthe Morisot is the canvas later owned by Chase, thereafter by Mary Cassatt and now also in the Art Institute of Chicago. RENOIR sent some important pictures, out of which the following ones can be recognized: *The Fisherman's Children*, 1879 (Durand-Ruel, Paris); *On the Terrace*, 1881 (Art Institute of Chicago); *The Lunch at Bougival*, 1881 (Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C.); *The Operabox*, 1880 (Cat. Orangerie Exh., Paris, 1933, No. 53); *Race in Paris*, 1879 (Tate Gallery London); *Dance in Bougival*, 1883 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); *Two Little Circus Girls*, 1875-1880 (Art Institute of Chicago); *The Servant*, 1875 (Clark Collection, New York); *Preparing for the Bath*, 1881 (Barnes Coll., Philadelphia, No. 118), and some others. SEURAT was splendidly represented by the *Island Grande Jatte, Study*, 1884 (See: D. C. RICH, *Seurat*, 1935, p. 58, Nos. 48, 49); twelve *Studies* (Probably for the *Grande Jatte*. See: RICH, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 56); the *Bathers*, 1883-1884, (Tate Gallery, London).



FIG. 14. — AUGUSTE RENOIR. — Danse at Bougival. —
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

teen Manets' (Figs. 10, 11 and 12), forty-eight Monets' (Fig. 13), forty-two Pissarros', thirty-eight Renoirs' (Figs. 4, 14 and 15), three Seurats' (Fig. 16), fifteen Sisleys' and also quite a number of canvases by Boudin, Caillebotte, Forain, Cassatt, Guillaumin, and Morisot (Fig. 17.)

Beside these Impressionists and others close to them, amounting to about two hundred and fifty paintings, Durand-Ruel had been smart enough to include some fifty pictures by generally favored artists, in no way related to the Impressionists and even disapproved by them, such as John Lewis Brown, Alfred Roll, and others. Except for these few pictures the exhibition was quite extraordinarily rich in pictures which are now considered to be top-ranking. Undoubtedly, there were also many important pictures which cannot be identified with certainty. Since the premises of the American Art Association

could only be used for a limited time, the entire show was taken over to the National Academy and exhibited there, again under the auspices of the Association, from May 25, 1886 on. A new catalogue was printed, listing twenty-one additional pictures of which thirteen were loans by private owners, such as A. J. Cassatt, Erwin Davis, and H. O. Havemeyer.

After the opening of the first show there was an immediate and very strong press reaction. Quite a few of these utterances²³ were generally in favor of the new movement, with only a few dissenting voices, mostly directing their complaints against specific pictures. The reviewer of the "New York Herald"²⁴ maintained that the pictures of the non-Impressionists, as well as Manet's powerful artistic personality, gave a dignity to the exhibition it would not have otherwise possessed. Concerning the Impressionists the reviewer thought that there were too many pictures by cranks but, in spite of all the absurdly mannered and even nonsensical pic-



FIG. 15. — AUGUSTE RENOIR. — Two Circus Girls. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

tures, he found the show extremely interesting. However, the reviewer accused the French of considering their technique unimportant, and thought that the members of the Society of American Artists were doing much better in this respect.

23. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, I, 78.

24. "New York Herald," April 10, 1886.

The reviewer felt that it was a pity that, as a result of the great effort of the French, they were only able to offer "some sketches, not pictures. In these, values are unknown, instead there is lustful rioting in color, which never has been shown in this country." Seurat's *Bathers*, refused by the Salon of 1884, is called a huge absurdity, and Degas is referred to as artistic only. While Renoir supposedly gives some sense of color, the charm he expresses here and there shows that he can paint if he wishes. Monet is called "versatile," being able to achieve true effects, while Sisley follows soberly in his wake, and Pissarro shows a good eye for color and effect. Berthe Morisot is the only one to show refined figures. The pastels and water colors by Degas, Forain, Renoir, and Pissarro would be sure to find many admirers. While this reviewer firmly rejected the new movement as such, he at least showed interest in the new school and tried to be objective.

The critic of the "Art Amateur"²⁵ also failed to recognize the spirit of the movement as a whole. Instead, he used some of the old masters as yardsticks and regarded Monet as a humble follower of Turner, while Pissarro is supposed to be close to Millet, though his color scheme is based upon that of English watercolorists. Renoir is compared to an East side concert hall scene-painter because of his flat backgrounds, but Seurat is recognized as having some of the qualities of early Italian frescoes. His picture would be more effective if hung on Trinity Church steeple so that it could be viewed from Wall Street. Manet seems over-rated when compared with Velazquez; he might rather be compared with Chase. In the *Absinth. Drinker* and the *Philosophers*, Manet's perverse but not very powerful imagination shows rather strikingly. The *Beggar* (one of the *Philosophers*) was generally considered the best Manet in the show and it might even have been called a great work except for some technical blemishes.

The "Critic"²⁶ published a well-balanced review in which the singular importance of the show as a whole was recognized, while justice was also done to each painter. The reviewer recognized quite well that if Manet "chose to ignore the elements of tone, he did so with perfect knowledge and intention." Degas he thinks is "abrupt, bizarre, fierce and almost terribly fascinating." Seurat's uncouth composition reveals the uncompromising strength of the school. Some of the most delicious landscapes ever painted may here be seen Monet is tender and subtle and Mary Cassatt's pictures rank with all but the best of the French school; "New York has never seen a more entertaining exhibition than this."

Beyond such more or less critical appreciation, it would be highly interesting to learn about the reactions of artists, collectors, and museums. If we may trust one John Smith who in 1888 wrote *Some Plain Words on American Taste*

25. "Art Amateur," 14, 1886, p. 121; 15, 1887, p. 4.

26. "Critic," April 17, 1886, p. 195.



FIG. 16. — GEORGES SEURAT. —Bathers. — Tate Gallery, Millbank, England.

in *Art*,²⁷ the exhibition did not challenge much criticism. According to him, there were only about half a dozen really clever pictures, while the rest were mere sketches — “French smears.” As this connoisseur left the building he “could not help thinking that this was the dearest fifty cents’ worth he had ever had in the States.” Undoubtedly such reactionary criticism could be matched by contemporary reprimands in all countries.²⁸ A London critic in 1888 “hoped that the Impressionists will not be allowed to play their pranks in the Royal Academy Exhibition, for this craze will pass away as everything foolish and fake does.”

In this connection a little incident might be noted. In the fall of 1886 a nicely printed translation of Alfred Stevens’ *Impressions* was published in New York, following the French first edition of the same year. While Stevens only expresses some polite appeal to the American public, the translator tries to convince the reader that he is an “Impressionist in the highest artistic sense of the term, because he strives for beauty and not for ugliness, while he shows moral and mental harmony in his painting.” Pointing out that Stevens’ art is free from the “diseases and exaggerations” of the French art, the translator implies that the

27. “Magazine of Art,” 1888, II p. 114.

28. W. P. FRITH, *Crazes in Art*, in: “Magazine of Art,” II, 1888, p. 187.

painter has nothing to do with the Impressionist group, but at the same time capitalizes on the interest created in Impressionism through the exhibition which had been held shortly before.

What progressive circles thought about Impressionism was probably mapped out in the passage quoted from the "Critic," as well as in a review in the "Cosmopolitan,"²⁹ then a newly founded magazine, whose art critic, Luther Hamilton, considered the exhibition to be one of the most important artistic events that ever took place in this country. He was impressed by the effort of the painters to break with tradition and to see things freshly with their own eyes. What he thought especially enjoyable was the absence of any concessions to the market and the fact that the element of salability was not considered.

Turning to collectors and inquiring how they took up the challenge, engenders a question about the reaction of museums. To this there is nothing but a negative answer. In the first place there were only the Metropolitan Museum, the New-York Historical Society, and the Boston Museum to be counted, at the time, as more or less serious collectors of painting. But even these museums had not yet adopted any special policy in acquiring "modern" pictures. In this respect they relied on gifts from benevolent donors, which they accepted with probably few questions asked. Conservatism of benefactors was surely considered to be protective enough against acquiring too modernistic pictures. Erwin Davis' bequest of his two paintings by Manet to the Metropolitan Museum in 1889, was probably the most extreme case of modernism imposed on a museum in that period.

Since museum policies were shaped by the patterns laid down by collectors, it is important to examine their methods. Unfortunately it is not easy to gather information about the owners of Impressionist pictures of that period, since we know as yet too little about the early buyers.³⁰ In his memoirs Durand-Ruel gives us at least some indications about a few of his customers, and from the customhouse reports we may also gather a few figures. When Durand-Ruel left the country in the summer of 1886 he paid duties worth \$5500 for imported pictures he had sold. Since duties were levied at thirty percent of the value of art goods, the total of Durand-Ruel's sales amounted to about \$18,000, or about twenty percent of the value of his imported goods (\$86,320). This profit was quite considerable for a first essay in exploiting the American market, but it was far lower than Durand-Ruel competitors estimated it to be. Within two weeks after the show had been opened, seven or eight pictures had already been sold. From all the sales effected we know of only two works of Manet.³¹

29. "Cosmopolitan," I, 1886, p. 240.

30. Some collectors are mentioned by BRIMO, *op. cit.*, p. 158 ff.

31. *Catalogue Impressionist Exhibition*, New York, 1886, No. 23: Manet *Still Life* (JAMOT-WILDENSTEIN, *op. cit.*, No. 168) was sold to Havemeyer for fifteen thousand francs (VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, 189). *Cat. Imp. Exh.*, New York 1886, No. 190: Manet, *Bullfight* (JAMOT-WILDENSTEIN, No. 121) was sold for five thousand francs.



FIG. 17. — BERTHE MORISOT. — Lady at her toilet. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. *Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.*

It is quite certain that not all of Durand-Ruel's customers³² purchased Impressionists. One of his conservative buyers who certainly did not favor them, was George Seney of Brooklyn, the generous donor of many works of art to the Metropolitan Museum. But most of the other names of New York customers mentioned in Durand-Ruel's memoirs, have some bearing on the Impressionist movement in one way or another. Erwin Davis' early purchases in Paris have been mentioned before.

Next there is Desmond Fitzgerald (1846-1928), who was an ardent collector of Impressionists. He was one of those who prefaced the catalogue of Durand-Ruel's New York Monet-Sisley-Pissarro Exhibition in 1891 and was instrumental in arranging the Loan Exhibition of Monet's paintings held by the Copley Society of Boston in 1905. The catalogue of this exhibition also contains a preface by Fitzgerald, in which he wrote about his own as well as Boston's early devotion

32. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, 217.

to Monet;³³ in "Brush and Pencil" he published a similar article.³⁴ The sale of Fitzgerald's collection of Impressionists showed his great connoisseurship.³⁵

Albert Spencer was an art amateur who sold his collection of paintings in 1888 in order to devote his efforts to collecting Impressionists.³⁶ Spencer also loaned three pictures by Monet and Renoir to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Another collector whose great interest in Impressionists was proved, when his collection was sold, was Cyrus J. Lawrence.³⁷

William H. Fuller's interest in Monet was seen in the first special exhibition of Monet, which he arranged at the New York Union League Club in 1891,³⁸ with loans from a number of collections. The idea of presenting Monet's pictures in a one-man show is explained by the fact that Monet was by far the best represented in most of the early collections. A representative of Goupil's in Paris had this to say about Monet in September, 1890: "Monet begins to be sold in America, but he paints too much."³⁹ In 1889 Monet's whole *La Creuse* series was sold to buyers in this country. Since 1891, when the artist showed his *Meules* series, he frequently sold directly to American collectors, without the intervention of dealers. Fuller, who also had written an article on Monet published in the "New York Evening Sun" (January, 1891), arranged for a sale of his pictures of the Barbizon school,⁴⁰ very possibly for the same reasons as Spencer. The sale of his pictures in 1903⁴¹ disposed of his Monets. About A. W. Kingman, whom Durand-Ruel mentions, we know only that he collected Monets.³⁸

Durand-Ruel does not mention James S. Inglis, a partner and later president of the New York art firm of Cottier and Company. Inglis once owned Manet's *Bullfight*, now at the Art Institute Chicago (Fig. 10). According to Durand-Ruel, he himself sold this picture, which figured in the show, in 1886 for five thousand francs; it may have been Inglis who bought it at that time. Inglis also owned Manet's *Dead Torreador*, now in the National Gallery, Washington, D. C., and exhibited it at the Columbian Exposition in 1893.⁴²

Out of his collection of Impressionists, Mary Cassatt's brother, A. J. Cassatt,

33. In her *Reminiscences of Monet* ("American Magazine of Art," v. 18, 1927, p. 119), MRS. LILLA CABOT PERRY mentions that she bought a picture (*Etretat*) from Monet in 1889 and brought it to Boston where only John Lafarge liked it.

34. "Brush and Pencil," 15, 1905, pp. 181-195.

35. Cat. Sale April 21, 1927, Am. Art Assn., New York.

36. Cat. Sale February 28, 1888, Ortgies, New York; "Art Amateur," 24, 1891, p. 88.

37. Cat. Sale January 21, 1910, Am. Art. Assn., New York. Some of Lawrence's pictures might perhaps be traced back to purchases from the 1886 exhibition, e.g.: Boudin, *Village by the Water* (Exh. No. 4), *Beach of Trouville* (Exh. No. 74); Pissarro, *Pontoise* (Exh. No. 187).

38. "Collector," 2, 1891, p. 91. The second Monet exhibition in this country was held by the St. Botolph Club, Boston, in March, 1892.

39. MAURICE JOYANT, *Toulouse-Lautrec*, 1926, pp. 117-118.

40. Cat. Sale February 25, 1898, Am. Art Assn., New York.

41. Cat. Sale March 12, 1903, Am. Art Assn., New York. Perhaps two of Fuller's pictures might be traced to the 1886 exhibition: No. 148 *Etretat* (Exh. No. 184); No. 144 *Seine* (Exh. No. 28).

42. Cat. Columbian Expos., Part X, Dep. K. 1893, No. 2937, last ed. of three, printed in 1893 (Jamot-Wildenstein No. 83).



FIG. 18. — CAMILLE PISSARRO. — View of Osny. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

loaned Durand-Ruel the following items for the National Academy show in 1886: Manet, *Boats on the Meuse*; Degas, *Repetition of the Dance*; Monet, *Sunset on the Seine* and *View of Holland*; Mary Cassatt, *Family Group* and the *Portrait of a Lady*. Later A. J. Cassatt lent some of these pictures, as well as a Monet and a Pissarro, to the Columbian Exposition in 1893.⁴³

The New York collector, H. O. Havemeyer, is so well known for the early interest he and his wife showed in the new movement, that it is unnecessary to go into detail.⁴⁴

Some special attention is due to James F. Sutton, the President of the American Art Association. Undoubtedly Sutton was a genuine art lover himself. As noted before, he started out by trying to foster sales of American paintings at a time when it would have been more profitable to import French "Salon" art, as the rest of the New York dealers did. Later Sutton took the great risk of ar-

43. Cat. Columbian Expos., *op. cit.*, Nos. 2906, 2938, 2957, 2963.

44. Cat. Coll. H. O. Havemeyer, New York, 1931.

ranging the "Impressionist" show. Here, as well as frequently afterwards, Sutton bought a great number of Impressionist paintings, especially Monets, which he kept all his life.⁴⁵

Since the success of the exhibition in 1886 had been great enough to warrant a repetition the following year, Sutton and Durand-Ruel immediately began to prepare a second show, with the difference that the pictures Durand-Ruel collected this time were much more conservative. After Durand-Ruel had shipped his pictures to New York, difficulties arose which nobody had anticipated. This time the New York dealers, jealous of Sutton's unexpected success in his first venture, tried to bar another French exhibition from being held free of customs duty. In letters to the press and petitions sent to the Secretary of the Treasury, Sutton was heavily denounced as trying to evade the law. It was argued that his institution, self-styled as an "educational" enterprise was in reality nothing but an art business and therefore not entitled to tax exemptions. Finally the argument was settled by allowing Durand-Ruel to enter his pictures under the promise not to sell them in this country. The result of this heated controversy was, that when the show was opened on May 25, 1887, quite a nice bit of publicity had been built up — a fact that boosted the number of visitors, but could not influence business since all pictures had to go back to France.

In any case the exhibition this time was no longer a sensation; Pissarro even called it a "*Salon Annuel*."⁴⁶ Along with the Impressionists one could admire Rousseau, Courbet, Dupré, Daubigny, Delacroix, and even Henner — all familiar to American collectors for years. Only the pictures by Puvis de Chavannes were probably "firsts." Nevertheless, the educational purpose of this show, as set forth by Sutton in one of his letters to the Treasury, for instance, of "providing an opportunity to study for American art students who cannot go abroad," was certainly achieved. As Sutton maintained, this was especially necessary in this country, since all governments but our own were patrons and direct supporters of art, so the Treasury should certainly permit the exhibition under bond. Though Sutton had arranged for both exhibitions in businesslike fashion, he was entirely right in his statement that the two exhibitions had made available knowledge which would otherwise not have been obtained, due to import taxes⁴⁷ which dis-

45. Cat. Sale January 13, 1917, Am. Art Assn., New York. Cat. Sale October 26, 1933, Am. Art Assn., New York.

46. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, II, 23.

47. Imports of foreign "art used for luxury" had always been taxed from 1790-1894 with taxes varying between ten and thirty per cent; from 1894-1897 no tax was levied; 1897-1909 duties were twenty per cent; 1909-1915, fifteen per cent ("twenty year" clause); from 1913, October 3, to date, art objects were practically placed on the free list. After 1883 the curious thing happened that at Tariff hearings, American artists, who supposedly were to be protected by the tariff, complained bitterly about duties to be levied on art imports. Kenyon Cox, I. Carroll Beckwith, and William A. Coffin, as representatives of the National Free Art League, were leading in this fight. They were in a difficult position to defend the educational value of art imports, while defenders of the tariff tried to stress the luxury value of art, the tax-free import of which could benefit rich people only (*Report of Tariff Commission*, 1882. H. M. 47-2, v. 2, 3. No. 6, p. 616 ff.)



FIG. 19. — ALFRED SISLEY. — Street in Moret sur Loing. — Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

couraged art exhibitions in general. Only on rare occasions, such as at world fairs, was there some official showing of foreign art.

But as was made clear by the participation of the French State at the Columbian Exposition of 1893, official representation would not necessarily convey a correct idea of the really strong currents in art trends. In this particular case the situation was very ingeniously amended by the privately arranged Loan Collection of Foreign Masters owned in the United States.⁴⁸ While in the official French show there were, for instance, three Henners', three Bouguereaus', and not one Impressionist, the Loan Exhibition was able to present eighteen pictures by Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro (Fig. 18), Renoir, Sisley (Fig. 19), and Cazin, owned by Messrs. A. J. Cassatt, James S. Inglis, Potter Palmer, Albert Spencer

48. Cat. Columbian Expos., *op. cit.*, Nos. 2868-2991.

and Frank Thompson. A report in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" acknowledged that the Loan Collection was the "*véritable clou*" of the exhibition, but it continued to regret, without mentioning even so much as a name, that the "most recent works of French art are exhibited with the finest that have been produced for a century."⁴⁹

The initiative for this special effort was largely due to the energy and interest of Mrs. Berthe Honoré Palmer, the famous Mrs. Potter Palmer who had been the best sales agent of the Columbian Exposition. Mrs. Potter Palmer had been a collector with a great flair, who had taken an interest in Impressionists at a very early date. Among the great number of Impressionists this collector bequeathed to the Art Institute of Chicago, we know that some Monets were purchased in 1891, and Pissarros and a Sisley in 1892; others may even have been acquired earlier.

Unfortunately, as is the case with Mrs. Potter Palmer, we know next to nothing about the dealings of other collectors of the Eighties, such as A. A. Munger of Chicago. Differing rather from France, where there is so much *petite histoire* piled up in recorded conversations, or in letters and memoirs, there is little of such personal background from which we might gain some insight into why and how these early American art lovers went about their "craze to collect Impressionists." An article published in the "Collector"⁵⁰ shows that as early as 1889 amateurs had to be warned against cheap imitations (though not fakes) of Impressionist paintings, of which local art criticism was not aware, since it was "divided between flippant ridicule of shallow ignorance or the beef-brained abuse of brutal materialism. A good Monet is worth money, an imitation is worth nothing. If you see a picture painted by one man in the style of another, do not touch it."

Mary Cassatt's correspondence would probably yield many interesting points on collections in the making. Perhaps we might also expect valuable information from letters American patrons exchanged with Sargent. The special interest shown in Manet might have something to do with Sargent's high admiration for this master, especially since we know that Sargent spent the winter of 1887-1888 and again the summer of 1890 in this country. Mark Elder believed that the sale of Monet's entire *La Creuse* series was due to the fact that it was so much admired

49. J. HERNANT, *L'Exposition de Chicago*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Ser. 3, 10, 1893, p. 455. The short-lived, extremely well presented periodical, "Modern Art" (edited by JOHN MOORE BOWLES, Indianapolis and Boston, 1893-97) had this to say about the exhibition: "No exhibition of French art can be representative from which are missing such men as Degas, Cazin, Dagnan-Bouveret, Puvis de Chavannes, Monet, Pissarro and Renoir! The Loan Collection, French masterpieces owned in America, is magnificent. Nearly every picture in these rooms is a gem. Here are found some of the great names missing from France's own space; all in fact, except Puvis de Chavannes" (Summer Number 1893). "It is the most remarkable collection of modern art that has ever been made . . . It is said that Frenchmen groan when they see how much of the best work of their greatest men has been allowed to come to this country" (Autumn Number 1893).

50. "Collector," 1, 1889, p. 11.

by Sargent, and that it was he who invited his compatriots to buy these pictures.⁵¹ Monet's attempt in 1889 to secure Manet's *Olympia* for France was partly motivated by alleged fear of American buyers⁵² and it was said, at that time, that Sargent had something to do with prompting Monet to undertake his action.

The best source of news about collectors and their interests is to be found in magazines like the "Art Amateur," "Art Interchange," "Art Age," "Chautauquan," "Collector," "Critic," "Modern Art," and "Studio." "Scribners'" special interest has been noted before; most of the other better magazines would occasionally publish some articles on modern painting, pro or contra Impressionism, as late as the early Nineties. Even in 1898 the Chicago connoisseur, A. J. Eddy,⁵³ had reason to complain about the entry concerning Manet in the catalogue of pictures in the Metropolitan Museum, calling the painter "an eccentric realist of disputed merit." This conception, however, was not the Metropolitan's own idea of Manet, but a verbal transcription from Champlin and Perkins' *Cyclopedia of Painters*, first published in 1885. In the pompous publications of American art collections,⁵⁴ by Ed. Strahan, a pupil of Gérôme, none of the Impressionists were mentioned; instead we find detailed descriptions of the Stewart, Marshall, and Vanderbilt type of collections. The freshest accounts on the modern movement are to be found in the columns of some newspapers. It seems quite astonishing, for instance, how much space the Boston "Evening Transcript" would give to such reports, coming in from all over the country. Most of these stories are now more conveniently to be found in the "Transcript's" weekly edition.

How much the French government was interested in art export to this country may be gauged by the fact that the Ministry of Fine Arts sent the art expert E. Durand-Gréville, better known for his book on the van Eycks, over here to establish a catalogue of French paintings in this country. It has not been ascertained whether this report was ever printed, but we may get a general idea about Durand-Gréville's work from a summary he published.⁵⁵ The author studied two to three thousand pictures in about one hundred collections, from which he made a choice for entry in his catalogue. The only Impressionists he mentions are those by Davis, which he speaks of with certain respect, without however listing Manet's *Woman with the Parrot*. Fatigued by his travels on the Eastern seaboard, the exhausted cataloguer did not venture to go to the Middle West, nor was he lured by such remote regions as California, even though Strahan's publications promised a

51. MARK ELDER, *A Giverny*, 1924, p. 65.

52. GEFFROY, *Monet*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

53. "Brush and Pencil," 1, 1898, p. 137. The statement about Manet was carried up to and in the *Catalogue of the Paintings of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1901, p. 186.

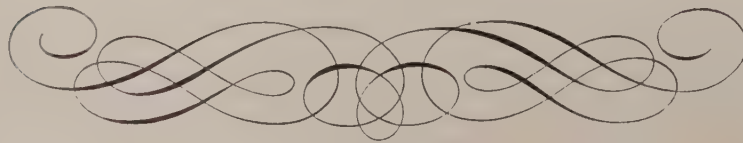
54. ED. STRAHAN, *The Art Treasures of America*, 1879. *American Art and American Art Collections*, ed. WALTER MONTGOMERY, Boston, 1889 (see: II, p. 994, S. G. W. BENJAMIN, *Tendencies of Art in America*).

55. DURAND-GRÉVILLE, *La Peinture aux Etats-Unis*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Ser. 2, 36 (1887) pp. 65, 250.

good crop. Durand-Gréville concludes his article by foretelling that with so many good French pictures as examples, the American artists would be sure to create a national school of their own. He was indeed right, but what the savant did not see was the fact that modern development would not be grafted on the study of Bouguereau and Meissonier but on exactly those pictures by Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro he passed by, in and around Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and failed to inspect in Mrs. Potter Palmer's mansion too far away in Chicago.

Lasting success on a constantly broadening line finally came to the Impressionists at the beginning of the Nineties. It was then that W. C. Brownell, previously mentioned for his essays on American artists, published his very understanding book on *French Art* (1892), devoting much space to Monet and Manet; at the same time Caecilia Waern wrote a very much noted clever article on Impressionists in the "Atlantic Monthly."⁵⁶ Against such sound judgment, a paper by W. H. Downes was published at the same time, in which he treated Impressionism as a fashion and "a fad which will run its course" and would have little weight. What, however, was much more important than all this writing, was the fact that a group of American painters had meanwhile come to be known, who based their efforts on the study of exactly those French painters whom Downes had called a bunch of "mad outlaws" in 1888.⁵⁷ While such men as Twachtman, Hassam, Weir, and Robinson found the public well prepared to receive their work because the Impressionists had gradually become known, these American painters in turn fostered intelligent understanding of the French masters by whom they had previously been stimulated.

HANS HUTH.



56. CAECILIA WAERN, *Notes on French Impressionism*, in: "Atlantic Monthly," 68, 1891-1892, p. 535.

57. W. H. DOWNES, *Boston Painters and Paintings*, in: "Atlantic Monthly," 62, (1888), p. 782; *Impressionism in Painting*, in: "New England Magazine," N. S., vol. 6 1892, pp. 600-603.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. PHILIP McMAHON.—*Preface to an American Philosophy of Art*.—Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945, 6 x 9, 194 p. Price: \$2.50.

A detailed critical discussion of this book would require the writing of a review as long or longer than it is—to say nothing of a learning far greater than any possessed by the present reviewer. What follows, therefore, is not so much a summary or a criticism of Mr. McMAHON's light-packed text as an indication of some of the ideas—right and wrong—that floated through one man's mind while he read it. Some of those ideas are Mr. McMAHON's and some are not. Here they are all mixed up.

Mr. McMAHON has been studying and teaching the history and philosophy of art for a long time. Like many other but less learned people he has been aware that something is wrong with much of the current esthetic theory and teaching, but unlike those other people he determined to find out about it. He saw that to a great extent the problem was one of semantics and so he did not sit down and try to solve it like some mechanical puzzle, as many others have done. On the contrary, he dug into the history of the idea of "fine art" and of its vocabulary. It was a very brave undertaking, much like crossing some Sahara Desert on foot and alone.

It is to be supposed that from the beginning of time thoughtful men have been puzzled by the fact that while they could compile long lists of things they thought very beautiful, they have never been able to define the common quality of those things in such a way that their definitions were not rather asinine.

Each generation has taken as many tries at the problem as it had thinkers, and sometimes even more. In any event Art and Beauty have been the excuses or excitants for a very large part of the dullest, the most verbose, the most ambiguous, and usually the most strictly meaningless metagrobolizing that has ever been done. However, as there has never been a better anodyne for ailing egos than this kind of solemn nonsense, a great deal of it has always been talked and written. It has greatly influenced both learned and popular thought about many things, all the way from lipsticks to ethics and even political doctrine. Mr. McMAHON's bravery in exploring the accumulation is thus obvious.

During the early Renaissance a few theoretically minded men began to get very much heated up about Art and Beauty, and as men of their times they naturally turned to the classical authors of Greece and Rome in the certainty of discovering authoritative opinions about them. The reviewer feels that if they had deliberately thought how to get off on the wrong foot they could not have done better. Mr. McMAHON thinks that while their idea in doing this was good, their actual results were not so good.

It is a fact of the most peculiar significance that the Greeks had no word for art (or Art) other than τέχνη—the root word from which have been derived our words technique and technology—which had far more the meaning of skill than of Art as that word is now (mis)understood. When under the Roman Empire it came time to translate τέχνη into Latin, it became *ars*—a word that had the meaning of "art" in the phrase "art and mystery" that was long applied to all

the handicrafts such, for example, as armor-making and bed-making, and that had none of the peculiar implications of our word "Art." *Ars* is the origin of our word artist, but it is also, and much more importantly, the origin of our word artisan.

The men of the early Renaissance who were interested in discovering a theory of what we now call Art, were not interested in the handicrafts but in such lordly things as painting, sculpture, and architecture. They seem not to have fully realized that when the ancient philosophers talked about those things it was by analogy to illustrate some other subject about which they were really thinking. Nothing is more complicated or difficult than anything about which we are really trying to think, and nothing is apparently simpler and clearer than the analogies we make in the hope of exemplifying and explaining our ideas. But, if we bring all these analogies together we always find that instead of fitting tidily into a simple unity of clean, understandable doctrine, they make something extraordinarily complex and full of irreconcilable contradictions. This is the secret of the fact that the learned have produced so much "hoey" under the label of classical theories of art. In other words, the men of the early Renaissance began their quest for a theory of Art and Beauty by assuming a great load of very ambiguous nonsense. Their successors for the most part have run remarkably true to tripe. "Esthetics" is still given in the departments of philosophy and not in the art departments.

In the XVI Century, as the painters and sculptors prospered and became men of substance and importance and the little brothers of princes and rulers, they began to object to their official classification among the handworkers and to seek for a new and a different official status. They somehow had the idea that in classical times the artists had been "recognized" as they themselves were not. In their own opinion they were fully as good as the learned professional men like the professors, the doctors and the lawyers, and they wanted the same or a similar rating.

One heard much the same kind of talk going about some years ago when the Harvard School of Business Administration was being started. All the very successful big retail merchants were for it because it meant that at last a great university was about to recognize trading as a learned profession and the trader who succeeded, as a learned professional man. Somehow the notion cheered the dealers in notions up a lot and helped their inferiority complexes. They all saw themselves as putative members of the National or Royal Academies of this and that, and they were all about to be entitled to put fancy initials after their names and to style themselves Professor, Doctor, Esquire, or *Kommerzienrat*, according to taste. For some reason or other the so responsible and efficient business men of modern times in non-German speaking countries have not pulled it off yet, but the quite inefficient and irresponsible artists have pulled it off almost everywhere.

The old trade guilds of the painters and sculptors gradually vanished and in their places came the Academies of Painting and Sculpture. The guilds had or-

ganized themselves as honest independent bourgeois tradesmen, but, as the result of suitable buttering and wangling, the Academies were inaugurated by papal, imperial and royal personages and carried on under their august patronages—which in practice meant, for the artists, fancy clothes, titles, and a monopoly of public jobs, and, for the patrons, an opportunity to let their lights so shine. The happy coalescence of the two so different motives is not wholly unknown even in modern democratic republics.

All this, however, was not enough, for somehow the guild, although yclept academy (like Holofernes's calf, "cauf"), still felt its inferiority, for it obviously was not on the same level as the academies of literature and philosophy to which the highest and the greatest in the land took pleasure and pride in belonging as well as in patronizing. The desired solution to this problem was eventually found in the new and more marvelous idea of the *Belle Arti*, *Beaux-Arts*, *Schoenen Kuenste*, or Fine Arts, an all-embracing idea that included not only painting and sculpture, but architecture, music, poetry, and, sometimes—dancing.

The only way in which these various things were alike was that when a specimen of one of them was approved of, it was said to have "Beauty." It was not perceived that the form of the statement "It has Beauty" was a mere matter of verbal idiom, and that, although it had the arrangement of a sentence and grammatically implied that there was such a thing as Beauty, it was actually as meaningless as the sentence: "This triangle has perception." They might better have said "We like it" instead of "It has Beauty"—and if they had, it would have simplified things a great deal. However, they did say "It has Beauty," and the result was that the production of "Beauty" promptly became the peculiar business of the members of the Academies—for what artist ever made anything that he thought should not instantly be liked and bought by some rich man for a high price? It was a case of a definition growing out of practice. It meant that whatever a recognized artist made had Beauty; and practice, as so often happens in advanced societies, was soon recognized in theory.

Thus τέχνη or *ars* or Art acquired a status than which nothing could be more top-lofty or highly philosophical. The contracting stone cutters like Pheidias, to say nothing of the members of the Guild of St. Luke, who marched in the public processions between the butchers and the bakers and who talked about how-business-was in the same way, had been left far behind.

The artist had thus become a Creator (a bombastic word for maker or manufacturer) of Beauty—and something very different from the mere limner or hewer that he had been. But, people have always been very careless about the neat distinction between "a" and "the" (ask any stenographer!), and so it was not long before the artist became by definition the creator of Beauty, and Beauty became something that was created exclusively by *The Artist*. Beauty, from being an indefinable vocable in a curious verbal idiom used by men when they wanted to say that they liked something of some kind very much, became a quality confined to the products of art artists—or, to bring it down to date,

if you like, of the "creative artists"—a group of self-conscious gentlemen who for a generation past have divided their energies between imitating Cezanne and talking about their own superiority to all other men.

These nifty notions were very invigorating for the leggy and etiolated egos of the intellectually underprivileged. Old Doctor Mulliner's famous "Buck-you-up-o" was as nothing to it. But, as Beauty was the common factor in such utterly unlike things as sculpture and poetry, architecture and dancing, and music and figure-painting, Beauty, so to speak, lost its material home or habitat and became a sort of disembodied idea floating about loose in the hot air which people refer to as the intellectual climate. By the end of the XVIII Century it had got up pretty close to the stratosphere, but chilly as it was up there, a lot of people thought that this was "very sublime" of it. It was not so very far from the kind of beauty that Plato talked about, which, if you remember, was an absolute that could be apprehended by the wise through thought alone without the mediacy of any of the vulgar, disturbing, and utterly misleading, five senses. It is really rather difficult to think of an "object," the "essence" of which shall be a "quality" of this kind, and for the making of which there shall be standard cook book recipes. But little difficulties like this were (and still are) regarded as destructive and not as constructive criticism of the sort that men who are doing great things in an important way so invariably demand.

In the course of this development there was much edifying and dogmatic talk about "taste," "genius," and "beautiful souls," about "the picturesque," "the sublime," and "the love of order," and about how the artist "improved upon nature." It was also perceived that the artist "eliminated the transient and particular and revealed the permanent and essential." The ideas of "free" and "dependent beauty" were evolved, and deep consideration of "the ugly" gave rise to the notions of "easy" and "difficult" beauty. One particularly coquettish contribution was that of the "*je ne sais quoi*."

Somewhere along the line a bright egg with a peculiarly practical mind invented and marketed the idea that Art is Cultural. When we consider how this one has paid off in hot air, vanity, and hard cash, it is impossible not to think that it was one of the most capital things of its kind that has ever been produced, for in practice it meant that both the maker and the purchaser of art had culture—a result the full logical charm of which is only brought out by thinking of particular cases. Incidentally, the academies and the theorists discovered the incantational use of the sixty-four dollar words about art. While this enabled them to seem very profound and philosophical, it was really one of the major historic tragedies of inflation. Had Mr. McMAHON brought his history of the vocabulary more nearly down to date than he did, he would have had to deal with such wonderful nostrums as empathy, tactile values, significant forms, and synaesthesia, all of which have worthily carried on the grand tradition.

Back in the XVII Century an innovating philosopher named Descartes had an enormous effect upon thought. At the time it seemed as though he had very success-

fully split mind and matter asunder. He was sure that he existed because he knew that he himself thought, whereas old Augustine had only known that he doubted. It was one of the more famous forward strides in philosophy. He also thought that anything he thought of very clearly and distinctly was true—and thus showed that he never thought about art. All this looks innocent enough, but in reality it had the most amazing results. Among other things it eventually started people thinking critically about primary and secondary qualities, causation and creation.

Some, like Pascal, dismissed the Cartesian mechanism with the disdainful flip of a finger. Berkeley showed that there was no difference between the primary and secondary qualities, and reduced all matter to terms of mind. Hume abolished causation and dissolved everything under the acid touch of a completely logical philosophical scepticism. In Germany, philosophers, who did not like Hume and who did believe in causation, took the line that mind really could create something out of nothing. They proved it by the voluminousness of their own writings—to which Mr. McMahon devotes a good many pages that will be fascinating to the true *aficionados*.

But, of course, mind without will would not do anything, it would merely BE, and so, in Germany will became the great thing. Even greater than will, however, was the fellow who had it, the creator, i.e. the Artist or *Kuenstler*, who was Will personified. Will, if it was really Will, was untrammelled. Logically, therefore, it was above all truck with such things as morals or ethics of the more humble, mundane varieties. Will made whatever it willed, from a carved meerschau pipe to a Cosmos, and especially it made men do what it willed them to do, and, therefore, logically men only existed for Will to work upon to its own personal ends and in its own personal ways.

After the Napoleonic period this patent medicine became a best seller in Germany where it was consumed in vast quantities by a great many sick souls. The Romantics and the professors interpreted it in their several ways. The Prussian State interpreted it in its way. But they were as one in their belief in the *uebermenschlichen* and heroic role of the great blond German *Volk* as the only begetter and possessor of right ideas. Then came the War of 1870. After it Germany burst forth, *sprudeled*, with men who walked around looking like Beethoven in Central Park, Nietzsche on his death bed, or any frozen-faced bad-mannered Prussian major. Its motto was the great poet Habicht's line, "*Es ist erreicht*." Insolence, professors, and *Helden-denkmale*, burgeoned and prospered, as was only possible in a society that demonstrated its vast intellectual world superiority by doing the goose step. Then came another war—but this time the recipe did not work, and Germany once more filled up with sick souls. Finally, fifteen or so years later, Hitler, the *Kuenstler*, arose to lead the *Herrenvolk* out of its Babylonian captivity towards the sun of its *ewige* world dominion.

The name by which all this chopping of logic and common sense up into little bits and the amazing intellectual results that were achieved by so doing, is

known in the philosophy books as the romantic variety of German philosophical idealism. Its bases are all tangled up with a lot of very funny esthetic theory, and this funny esthetic theory in turn is all tangled up with Art and Beauty, Reality and Politik, and is accompanied by the tub-thumping of the more than manly bosom that goes only with a well developed set of inferiority complexes. Because this German philosophical idealism is so deep and profound and idealistic, it was long regarded with awe by poor Americans, who, thinking only in little ten-cent words, took it at its own valuation. Anything so full of big words as this, was necessarily itself something very big. Naturally our ideas got woozy and badly balled up—and much as we dislike the results of this philosophy in politics many of us still swallow it neat and without a hiccup in our esthetics. And that is part of the trouble in the places where we talk about art and its cultural values.

Mr. McMAHON will probably not recognize his account and his argument in the foregoing threnody,—and the reviewer is not sure that he does either—but that is the effect they had upon the reviewer, who, unlike Mr. McMAHON, is for the time being utterly irresponsible and a sufferer from logorrhea.

After dealing with the history of the idea of fine art and with German romantic idealism, Mr. McMAHON discusses Plato, Plotinus, and Aristotle, and from hints contained in their writings, specially those of Aristotle, and from his own common good sense, he comes to some modest and reasonable conclusions. In doing this he is helped by a much more extended and concrete acquaintance with works of art and the history of opinion about them, than was enjoyed either by the ancients or by the men who evolved the theory of fine art. He points out that when we talk about Art we actually in practice mean things based on draughtsmanship or design in the most literal sense, and that when we try to expand the idea by bringing in music, poetry, the dance, *e tutti quanti*, we lose our footing. As to Beauty he very pertinently says: "It would not have occurred to Aristotle, any more than it would to Socrates, Plato, or Plotinus, that a group of techniques and their products could be established with beauty as their essence or distinguishing trait."

At the end of a close argument in which he discusses many of the most important topics that come up for consideration in connection with esthetics, Mr. McMAHON says: "Art does not possess a monopoly of beauty, nor is beauty to be found there alone. Since each series of experiences is unique and individual, individual responsibility for the discovery of qualities still remains and cannot be transferred to a formula or to society. To be a living, experiencing being is to find qualities in objects, but experience is of particulars and by particular individuals." "It is well for Americans to realize that qualities logical, ethical, and esthetic have as much to do with art and the artist as with any other objects." "The responsibility of the individual for his own experiences of quality cannot be evaded in art or elsewhere." "Nobody can undertake to perform our experiencing for us; we can share it, but we cannot surrender it."

In other words, Mr. McMAHON takes art and beauty

down out of the clouds of authoritarian theory and grandiose definitions and hands them back to us as unavoidable problems of human recognition and conduct which each of us has to deal with in his own way and on his own responsibility. The meaning of this is that each of us has not only the right but the duty to speak for himself about these things according to his own lights. Somehow this seems to be very sound and very democratic theory. There really is no reason that people should agree about art or that they should accept the pontifications of others about it.

Looked at from a point of view a little off to one side of Mr. McMAHON's argument, his results bring out at least two very interesting things. One of these is that what standard enlightened and scientific opinion in the XIX Century regarded as the silly old Greek and Medieval scholastic dispute about universals, is still going on as heatedly as ever, even if under a series of aliases. The other is that in all probability the particular field in which this dispute comes closest home to ordinary men and women, and the only one in which they attempt to come to grips with it as a practical matter of conduct, is that of art and beauty. It is hardly to be wondered at that ordinary people should get all tangled up and talk nonsense about things which the great philosophers, from Plato down to the present time, have been unable to do any better with. It really is very difficult not to get tangled up when trying to think about a subject such as Art when you know only a very little about only a very little of it. Many of the philosophers who have written most influentially about esthetics have not known even that much about Art. It is not at all impossible that Art is much like sex, of which the wise chorus girl remarked that it was to be done with and not talked about.

The historian, selecting a series of events and ideas, weaves a pattern out of them and makes it appear as though that pattern were the logically inevitable result of history. This is perhaps the way in which he most betrays his innate artistry, but he often forgets the results both of his artistry and of the pure accident (or contingency, if you wish) of *le nez de Cléopâtre*. In the course of time that lady's long nose takes many shapes and travels under many disguises. It appears in the most fantastic places, and whenever it does, its shadow does the strangest things to even the most close-knit of the historian's causal sequences. The reviewer had a notion that he saw the flicker of this shadow several times in the course of this book, but he is perfectly willing to be told that this was only because of his ignorance and his generally timid and suspicious nature.

Beyond any question, a number of the readers of this book will disagree with what they find between its covers, and some of them will do it violently. To raise pertinent questions about accepted esthetic dogmas is but little less indecent than to raise them about accepted theological dogmas. Much as they may disagree, however, it is doubtful whether any of these people would be willing to maintain that its author is not a very learned, a very serious, and a transparently honest man. In other words, this is a challenging, a courageous, and a modest book, which raises important issues.

WILLIAM M. IVINS, JR.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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CLAY LANCASTER, now with the Avery Architectural Library of Columbia University, received his M. A. degree from the University of Kentucky, and in his thesis discussed XIX Century buildings in and around the city of Lexington. As a result, an essay of his: *Gideon Shryock and John McMurtry, Architect and Builder of Kentucky*, was published in the "Art Quarterly." His field having widened into an active investigation of architecture throughout the South, he wrote an article on: *Some Octagonal Forms in Southern Architecture* for a recent issue of the "Art Bulletin." Always interested in the preservation of American architectural treasures, his *Save Boscobel!* in the magazine "Antiques," was a plea for preventing the destruction of a fine late XVIII Century house overlooking the Hudson River. His article in this issue: *Latrobe and the John Pope House* page 213 brings out newly discovered facts concerning one of the villas discussed in a former article in the "Gazette": *Palladianism in the Bluegrass* (June 1944, p. 347).

HANS HUTH, a student of Adolph Goldschmidt in Berlin, was, until 1937, associated, as a Curator, with the Administration of Palaces and Parks of Prussia. In 1939 he was appointed collaborator with the U. S. National Park Service, Branch of History, preparing studies on various park areas such as the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and reorganizing the Lincoln Museum at the Ford Theatre, in Washington. Also associated, since 1942, with the Art Institute of Chicago, he is working on a catalogue of paintings of that Institute's collection. He was a contributor to the Thieme-Becker *Kuenstler-Lexikon* and is the author of several books which range from *Kuenstler und Werkstatt der Spaetgotik* (1922) to *Observations on Conservation* (1941). The "Gazette" published in the January 1946 issue his article on *The White House Furniture at the Time of Monroe*. He contributes to this issue a study on: *Impressionism comes to America* page 225

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